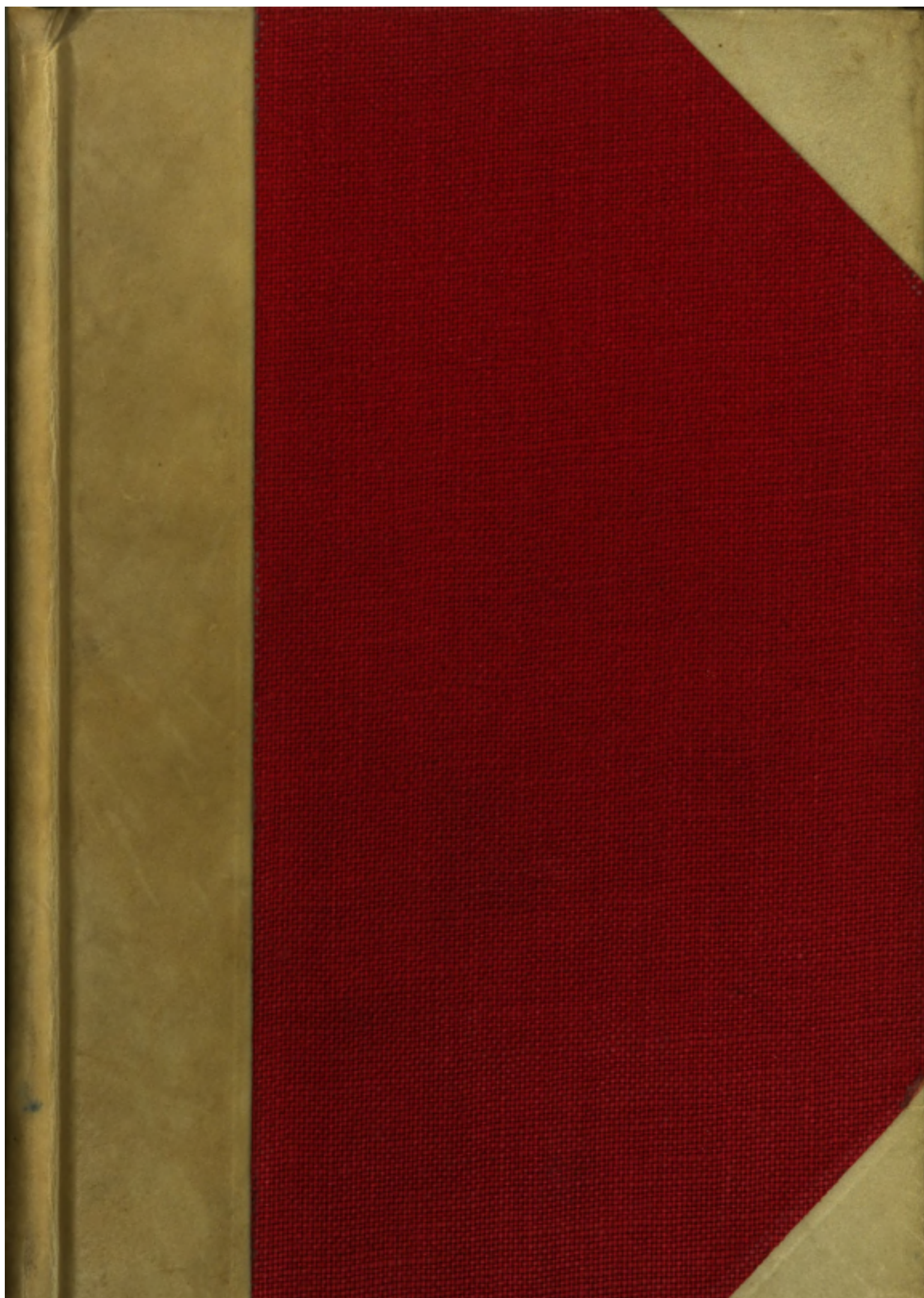




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THE URANIAN EROS

A Defence of Uranian Love

by

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[*Edward Perry Warren*]

PART THE SECOND

THE URANIAN EROS

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PREFACE

BUT, if this is true, more must be true. The boy-lover, hitherto faithful to his own experience, and so far standing on firm ground, descries a sea on which he must venture. We cannot act on what we know, as is proved by the fact that we do not act on what we know. There is in life a necessity of allowing for much that we cannot know, a conjectural obedience to undiscovered truth.¹ Evidence which is not tantamount to proof is often all that we have to guide us. We search ; we verify ; we correct ;

¹ Plato, *Republic*, vii. 534 D :

Οὐκοῦν καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, ταῦτόν τοῦτο ἀνάπηρον ψυχὴν θήσομεν ἢ ἂν τὸ μὲν ἐκούσιον ψεῦδος μισῇ καὶ χαλεπῶς φέρῃ αὐτὴ τε καὶ ἑτέρων ψευδομένων ὑπεραγανακτῇ τὸ δ' ἀκούσιον εὐκόλως προσδέχεται καὶ ἀμαθαίνουσά που ἀλίσκομένη μὴ ἀγανακτῇ ἀλλ' εὐχερῶς ὥσπερ θηρίον βειον ἐν ἀμαθίᾳ μολύνηται.

we enlarge our conjecture ; we submit it to others. It concerns more than ourselves. It is a theory, a "criticism of life." It cannot claim that authority which attaches to our reports of our own feelings ; it must be venturesome. But it may explain, and is most simply stated as if certain.

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A DEFENCE OF URANIAN LOVE

I

Τὸ πεπερασμένον¹

WE followed the boy-lover from the earthly to the heavenly, from the real to the ideal. He found it in the spiritual likeness of the ἀνδρείος, his soul, whereof the counterfeit is the boyish body. This soul possesses, according to him, all the characteristics of the body ; it is rather ὀργή than ψυχή. It is not νοῦς. So far as the lover loves wisdom, he loves σοφία, which Pindar would understand, and which would not, like Plato's disillusioned φιλοσοφία, escape wholly from

¹ Aristotle, *Ethics*, ii. 6, 14. Τὸ γὰρ κακὸν τοῦ ἀπείρου, ὥς οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι εἵκαζον, τὸ δ' ἀγαθὸν τοῦ πεπερασμένου.

the world, the flesh, and the devil into mental contemplation. How could he? He is a lover; therefore a man attached to the world, not detached. *Θνητὸς ὦν θνητὰ φρονεῖ*.¹ Yes, the perishable, for his motive is in himself and not dependent on teleology. He is *ἐν τέλει*, if he satisfies himself, and he hangs on no theory of progress for his own perfection, nor on any of the afterworld. *Ἐφ' ὅσον ἐνδέχεται ἀθανατίζειν*—yes, but *ἐνὶ σὺν τρόπῳ, κλυταῖς ἐπέων ἀοιδαῖς*,² themselves alas! perishable. His triumph remains, if at all, as a record, not as an inheritance, and the record itself may be destroyed; but he has been “rich in the simple worship of a day.”³ This standpoint he takes, not because he disbelieves either in the afterworld or in progress (ten steps forward, nine steps backward; such is progress⁴), but because by it he reaches perfection,

¹ Contrast Aristotle, *Ethics*, x. 7. οὐ χρὴ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς παραινούντας ἀνθρώπινα φρονεῖν ἄνθρωπον ὄντα οὐδὲ θνητὰ τὸν θνητὸν ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅσον ἐνδέχεται ἀθανατίζειν.

² Pindar, N. vii. 16.

³ Keats, *Fragment of an Ode to Maia*.

⁴ H. F. Amiel, *Journal Intime*, 22 août, 1873. “Mille choses avancement, neuf cent quatre-vingt-dix-huit reculent: c'est là le progrès.”

which implies an end, and manly perfection, which implies a distinct circumscription.

If we take visible beauty, either male or female, as our criterion, we find its strength "in bound and term,"¹ but more firmly bounded in the male, whether mentally or bodily. The lax, the diffuse, the vague, the variable, the undulatory, are restricted in proportion as he obtains possession of himself. For him want of restraint and want of strength are one thing : *impotentia*. Woman gives herself. Man, who is, by all rights, the giver, will give all things save himself. He can afford a voluntary durance and service, like that of Apollo under Admetus,² but may grant no possession nor invasion, being planned to the measure of his estate. This circle he must fulfil, and with it he must be content, content to have lived as he has lived, independent of subsequent approval or justification, willing to risk the validity of his own morals, to have gained what he has gained by them and

¹ Francis Thompson, "The Cloud's Swan-song."

² Callimachus, ii. 47 :

Φοῖβον καὶ Νόμιον κικλήσκομεν ἐξέτι κείνου
ἐξότ' ἐπ' Ἀμφρυσσῶ ζευγίτιδας ἔτρεφεν ἵππους
ἡθέου ὑπ' ἔρωτι κεκαυμένος Ἀδμήτοιο.

to have lost what he has lost for them,¹ since, as the wicked are punished for their sins, so is the righteous for his virtues, every rarity being bought with a price.

The end of the account is satisfaction covering the sacrifice,² content within the finite. This, if we ask ourselves, is man's superiority to woman.³ She may sacrifice

¹ Sophocles, *Fragment*, 861 :

στέργειν τε τάκπεσόντα καὶ θέσθαι πρέπει
σοφὸν κυβευτήν, ἀλλὰ μὴ στένειν τύχην.

² George Eliot, *Mill on the Floss*, Book Fourth, Chapter III. "She had not perceived . . . that renunciation remains sorrow, though a sorrow borne willingly."

³ Aristotle, *Metaph.* A. 5, 986a, 15 :

Among the συστοιχίαι are :

πέρας καὶ ἄπειρον.
περιττὸν καὶ ἄρτιον (odd and even).
ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ.

τοῦ δὲ ἀριθμοῦ στοιχεῖα τό τε ἄρτιον καὶ τὸ περιττόν, τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄπειρον τὸ δὲ πεπερασμένον. Now, the odd number, which is πεπερασμένον, is the male, the even the female, number, of which the sexual reason may lie in Stobaeus, i. pr. 6 (p. 20). τῶν δὲ ἀριθμῶν ἄρτιοι μὲν εἰσιν οἱ εἰς ἴσα διαιρούμενοι, περισσοὶ δὲ οἱ εἰς ἄνισα καὶ μέσον ἔχοντες. In any case the πέρας the περιττόν and the ἄρρεν are accounted better than the ἄπειρον the ἄρτιον and the θῆλυ. The references are from Diel's *Vorsokratiker*, where other passages are quoted.

herself more, but she does not rest in her own limit as he. The doctrine of the endless was made for her sinuous adhesions, deflexions, and escapes ; the doctrine of an overlord for her justification and recompense, the infinite for her indefiniteness. She rests, if at all, in an ideal embodied or believed.¹ But to the man who would reach perfection, the infinite is impermissible ; and if St. Thomas tells us that God, though infinite, is a *finis quoad nos* because we reach in him the utmost of our possible development, beyond which we can have no desires, he in truth refers us to just that finitude of our

¹ Concerning the ideal embodied, may it not be conjectured that women need the companionship of men in order to find the world real?—that, for instance, a woman who reads much may not know in what to acquiesce till a man pronounces an opinion. Its definiteness may surprise her ; she feels that behind the opinion there is a staunch judgment, a limit. And may we not add that, whereas to a man love is romance flung over reality, to a woman it is reality flung over the romance of which she is tired ? If this is so, the comparative inconstancy of man is in part explained. The woman wanted a fact and has found one ; the man wanted a dream, but it turns out to be a fact. He also has wearied, not of romance, but of his circumscription, and has endeavoured an escape ; he is brought back to himself, to his excellence.

several natures, or of our collective human nature, from which infinity was to enable us to escape, or, to speak less tolerantly, he provides us with an escape, from an infinite God into that human finitude which is our only hope. Perfection, indeed, is finitude¹; it is the fulfilling of that measure which is ours; it is not peace, unless there can be a peace that shall bear that relation to quietude which action, the glow of the whole being in a moment of suspended exercise, may bear to activity. Peace as a relinquishment,² as a rest in an end ("Our heart is restless until it find rest in Thee"³),

¹ Our modern use of language tends to make us forget this. Faguet, *Le Dix-Septième Siècle*, Malebranche ii. "Le monde était non point parfait, il ne peut l'être étant fini," and again "imperfection nécessaire du fini par rapport à l'infini," i.e. etymologically "the world cannot be finished because it is finished" and "that which is finished is necessarily unfinished in comparison with the unfinished."

² The light and happy beauty of Pindar's praise of Ceos (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, v. 841, iv) does not controvert the saying, for such relinquishment belongs, where it stands, in a minor poem; there are minor occasions for such practice, when the doctrine of contentment applies to the day of small things.

³ St. Augustine, *Confessions*, i. 1.

is feminine.¹ The wrong restlessness is loss of that centre in each man to which all his action shall be referable. We find it in those dangles after the divine whose life is a sublime feminine cry to be set on a rock² that is too high for them, who fancy a virtue in yearning never satisfied, in a beautiful appeal and incompleteness. This, combined with that renunciant peace which is a progressive absorption in the Incomparable, is so far the doctrine of Christianity that some³ have supposed in the male a

¹ Psalm lxiii. 9. Exalted into fuller strength, invincible courage, and greater wisdom to command all that is below him, especially his own feminine nature.

Amiel, *Journal Intime*, 17 avril, 1867. Pour éprouver la vraie paix, il faut se sentir dirigé, pardonné, soutenu par la puissance suprême. 8 Mars, 1868. C'est l'oscillation entre les deux génies, grec et romain, oriental et occidental, antique et chrétien. C'est la lutte entre deux idéaux, celui de la liberté et celui de la sainteté. La liberté nous divinise, la sainteté nous prosterne. 22 août, 1873 Pour la sainteté il faut l'union de volonté, la perfection du dévouement, la mort du moi, l'absolue soumission. Achilles should be tried by this test, since he was a Pagan example of self-sacrifice.

² Psalm lxi. 3.

³ Coventry Patmore in *Religio Poetae*, "Dieu et ma Dame": "Man . . . stands between God and woman, and, as he pleases and when he pleases, can take aspect as

feminine *anima quoad Deum*, the lover of souls : " my soul hangeth upon thee ; thy right hand hath upholden me." ¹ But man, to be faultless and foursquare, must be blocked and cornered against this leaning and plunge into an ἄπειρον. He is not to be lost in a greater nor to find rest in a greater, else he would not himself be τέλειος, but a stage or approximation and not a centre or culmination. His virtue must consist in a mean lest he be drawn out of himself in pursuit of extremes *semper cedentia retro*,² and it must stand not so much in his actions considered *per se* as in his judgment and performance of them ὡς δεῖ καὶ ὅτε καὶ ὅπως, whereby he remains arbiter and stumbles against no absolute, a stone whereon he

bride to Christ or Bridegroom to woman" ; and *ibid.* The Bow set in the Cloud : " The Brides of Christ . . . that which is their most sensible characteristic, namely, a marked increase of the feminine nature, which is passing humble, receptive, sensitive, and responsive ; this increase, however, so far from being at the expense of their masculine nature, that this latter is exalted into fuller strength, invincible courage, and greater wisdom to command all that is below him, especially his own feminine nature."

¹ Psalm lxiii. 9.

² Vergil, *Aeneid*, iii. 496.

that falleth shall be broken.¹ Himself the lover he measures excess or defect, applying that modelling and control which brings the statue within its firm outlines and planes. Here is definition that shall serve better than strength alone unto dominance, whether over the world or over woman : they are much the same. Κράτος is a monster² and has not even a masculine name. Ares, who is Θυμός unsubjugated, is subjugated by Aphrodite. Not as mere power, but as governance, implying self-rule, shall man constitute his rule and end ; and it is as an end to her ceaseless aspirations and suspirations that woman looks to him ; it is to his rule that the world must look, if it is to find an end of trouble—in a peace that broods over trouble.

¹ St. Matthew xxi. 44.

² Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, *ad init.*

II

THE URANIAN IDEA

THE Philosophical Eros has shot beyond the paederastic Eros, or rather, since he is but a division on the ground of the other, let us call both the Uranian Eros, consonant in his spiritual flights with his earthly base ; for we may consider him, not, with Plato, as spurning his nativity in the flesh, but as the Greeks in general, less Puritan than Plato, knew him, so far as they knew him at all ; since that which they knew, their own like, could not be seen by themselves as in a picture, and would not be known to them as we, who are without it, can know it. We observe a general faith, radical and ramifying in their system, which they unwittingly assumed. It may lie on their lips as a truism, or under their words, as needing no statement, but more often it is

unthought, as we are unaware of the muscles by which we move. Immersed in their own life, they considered their life as life.

Philosophy is no more characteristic of a people than religion, nor even so much. Φιλόσοφον πλῆθος ἀδύνατον εἶναι¹; but a people possesses an ideal; and the ideal of the Greek race was, as distinguished from the ideals of other races (a distinction which is the only test: a test inapplicable by themselves) more masculine. On the male hung all their hope, ἐλπίς σπέρματος σωτηρίου.² It would be a mistake to separate their affection for boys from their desire for sons. In substance, and in spite of fluctuant belief in the afterworld, their vision of immortality, from which they could not isolate themselves in self-sufficiency, was the continuance of themselves and of their life in their seed.³

¹ Plato, *Republic*, vi. 494 A.

² Aeschylus, *Choephoroi*, 228.

³ *Ibid.*, 501 :

καὶ μὴ ἔαλειψῆς σπέρμα Πελοπιδῶν τόδε,
οὕτω γὰρ οὐ τέθνηκας οὐδέ περ θανών.

The words are addressed to Agamemnon. In the previous line γονός appears to mean the power of transmitting the line which was not resident in the female : Pity thy daughter and in him thy race.

Not merely as fathers in general love their children, not merely as southern men whose houses are not their castles and whose moral standards are social and generic rather than conscientious or individual, did they conceive of life as an hereditary effort. Two streams combined, the old notion of κλέα ἀνδρῶν, of masculine achievement, which was to them nearly the sum of morals, and their pleasure in the healthy and happy breeding and training of the youths who were to perpetuate the life which they knew. To be of service to that small πόλις which depended on its citizens and knew them all by name, to win credit for it in the national games or in war, these were their glories; and the preparation for them was that beautiful life in the gymnasium, or on the riding-ground,¹ which was to be more permanent

¹ The following passage has been pointed out as a curious combination of ideas :

μακρὰ δισκήσαις ἀκοντίσσαιμι τοσοῦθ' ὅσον ὀργάν
 Ξεινοκράτης ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων γλυκεῖαν
 ἔσχεν. αἰδοῖος μὲν ἦν ἀστοῖς ὁμιλεῖν
 ἵπποτροφίας τε νομίζων ἐν Πανελλάνων νόμῳ.

Pindar, *Isth.*, ii. 35-39.

Cf. also :

μοῖραν δ' εὖνομον
 αἰτέω σε παισὶν δαρὸν Αἰτναίων ὀπάζειν,

than the importance of the πόλις and which we find still marvellously surviving in the ruined Greece of Plutarch !

εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ὑμνητὸς οὗτος ἀνὴρ γίνεται
σοφοῖς
ὅς ἐν χερσὶν ἢ ποδῶν ἀρετᾷ κρατήσας
τὰ μέγιστ' ἀέθλων ἔλῃ τόλμα τε καὶ σθένει,
καὶ ζώων ἔτι νέαρων
κατ' αἶσαν υἱὸν ἴδῃ τυχόντα στεφάνων Πυθίων.
ὁ χάλκεος οὐρανὸς οὐ ποτ' ἀμβατὸς αὐτοῖς
ὅσαις δὲ βροτὸν ἔθνος ἀγλαῖαις ἀπτόμεσθα,
περαίνει πρὸς ἔσχατον πλόον.¹

How full of love that life was we know, and, in fact, had not the passion been so prevalent, we should more easily discover what it was. The texts speak of love (intending the love of youths) as a matter of course ; the potters praise the καλοί, mentioning names of nobles whom they could not have approached. The surprising thing is not its manifestation in the flesh, but its extension beyond any question of acts, its acceptance and assumption as an

Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἀγλαῖαισιν δ' ἀστυνόμοις ἐπιμεῖξαι
λαόν. ἐντί τοι φίλιπποί τ' αὐτόθι καὶ κτεάνων ψυχὰς
ἔχοντες κρέσσονας ἄνδρες.

Pindar, *Nem.*, ix. 30-33.

¹ Pindar, *Pyth.*, x. 22.

ideal and motive power ; so that Xenophon¹ imagines that it will survive with a full life though all sensual pabulum be denied to it. But do we not see a like assumption in Plato's belief² that, when we shall have destroyed the family, family affection will survive, and is it not for a like reason ? The idea of the family was strong among the Greeks and was echoed by adoption. It was not, as in our day, because children came to cement the union of love between

¹ Symposium, viii.

² Plato, *Republic*, Book v., *passim*, e.g. 463 C :

παντὶ γὰρ ὃ ἂν ἐντυγχάνῃ τις ἢ ὡς ἀδελφῷ ἢ ὡς ἀδελφῇ ἢ ὡς πατρὶ ἢ ὡς μητρὶ ἢ υἱεὶ ἢ θυγατρὶ ἢ τούτων ἐκγόνοις ἢ προγόνοις νομιεῖ ἐντυγχάνειν·
Κάλλιστα, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, λέγεις· ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ τόδε εἰπέ·
πότερον αὐτοῖς τὰ ὀνόματα μόνον οἰκεῖα νομοθετήσεις
ἢ καὶ τὰς πράξεις πάσας κατὰ τὰ ὀνόματα πράττειν κτλ.

Glaucon answers that deeds must correspond with words,

γελοῖον γὰρ ἂν εἶη εἰ ἄνευ ἔργων οἰκεῖα
ὀνόματα διὰ τῶν στομάτων μόνον φθέγγονται.

Lactantius, *Epit.* 38, quoted in Orelli, Cicero, *Republic*, v., speaking about Plato's *Republic*, says :

" quis esse in utrisque amor conjugalís potest in quibus non est certus aut proprius affectus ? Quis erit in patrem pius ignorans unde sit natus ? quis filium diliget quem putabit alienum ? "

man and wife. Diodorus¹ is particular to mention that it was not for love of Alcmena that *caelum noctu bis sine rege fuit*,² but for the sake of Heracles,³ and that Zeus did his

¹ Diod. Sic., iv. 9, 2. τὴν δὲ γεγενημένην περὶ αὐτὸν (τὸν Ἡρακλέα) ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι (λέγεται) θεωρηθῆναι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως γινώσκεισθαι· τὸν γὰρ Δία μισγόμενον Ἀλκμήνῃ τριπλάσιαν τὴν νύκτα ποιῆσαι καὶ τῷ πλήθει τοῦ πρὸς τὴν παιδοποιίαν ἀναλωθέντος χρόνου προσημῆναι τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τοῦ γεννηθησομένου ῥώμης. καθόλου δὲ τὴν ὁμίλιαν ταύτην οὐκ ἐρωτικῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἕνεκα ποιήσασθαι [Heracles was the last child of Zeus by a mortal] καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλεον τῆς παιδοποιίας χάριν· διὸ καὶ βουλόμενον τὴν ἐπιπλοκὴν νομίμον ποιήσασθαι βιάσασθαι μὴ βουληθῆναι πείσαι δ' οὐδαμῶς ἐλπίζειν διὰ τὴν σωφροσύνην· τὴν ἀπατὴν οὖν προκρίναντα διὰ ταύτης παρακρούσασθαι τὴν Ἀλκμήνην, Ἀμφιτρύωνι κατὰ πᾶν ὁμοιωθέντα.

² Propertius, ii. 22, 26.

³ Cf. Pindar, *Paeon*, vii.

καλ(έ)οντι μιν Ὀρτυγιάν ναῦται πάλαι
πεφόρητο δ' ἐπ' Αἰγαῖον θαμὰ
τᾶς ὁ κράτιστος
ἐράσσατο μιχθεὶς
τοξόφορον τελέσαι γόνον.

For the son's feeling cf. Euripides, *Fr.* 887.

Ἄλλ' ἴστ', ἐμοὶ μὲν οὗτος οὐκ ἔσται νόμος
τὸ μὴ οὐ σὲ, μῆτερ, προσφιλῇ νέμειν αἶψα
καὶ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τόκων τῶν σῶν χάριν·
στέργω δὲ τὸν φύσαντα τῶν πάντων βροτῶν

best to render him legitimate. It may be that the loves of the gods were not so much erotic stories as explanations of the divine character of heroes. Marriage was ἐπὶ παίδων γνησίων ἀρότῳ and the παῖδες in view were primarily male, succession being in the male line.

Succession indeed, not marriage and home life,¹ was the Greek idea of the family.

μάλισθ'. ὀρίζω τοῦτο, καὶ σὺ μὴ φθόνει·
κείνου γὰρ ἐξέβλαστον, οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἀνὴρ
γυναικὸς αὐδήσειεν ἀλλὰ τοῦ πατρὸς.

¹ Note that Catullus in the *Atthis*, Poem lxiii., does not mention a wife in the lament.

59. "Patria, bonis, amicis, genitoribus abero ?
abero foro, palaestra, stadis et guminasiis ?
miser, a miser, querendumst etiam atque etiam,
anime !
quod enim genus figuraest ego non quod obierim ?
ego mulier, ego adulescens, ego ephebus, ego uir,
ego guminasi fui flos, ego eram decus olei ;
mihi ianuae frequentes, mihi limina tepida,
mihi floridis corollis redimita domus erat,
linquendum ubi esset orto mihi sole cubiculum.
Ego nunc deum ministra et Cybeles famula ferar ?
69. ego Maenas, ego mei pars, ego vir sterilis ero."

R. Ellis in his preface to the poem : "The completely Greek quite un-Roman cast of feeling of 59-67, in which a peculiar glow is thrown over associations of home which had found little, if any, expression in poetry,

The masculine idea is not less dominant in paternity than in paederasty. The vengeance of Medea, the burden of Itys, the banquet of Thyestes, the suicide of Menoeceus are tragic not only by reason of the horror which attaches to violent deaths, but because by them the father is deprived of succession in his son,¹ and the favour done to Amphi-

as it had comparatively little influence on Roman life. Only in the *Phaedrus*, the *Charmides*, the *Lysis*, the *Symposium* of Plato, can we realize it. On the other hand the horror, to us so familiar, of the loss of virility, is more Roman than Greek." Ellis quotes Joseph Warton, *Essay on Pope*, p. 312, ed. 2, 1762: "The whole poem being of a strain superior to anything in the Roman poesy, and more passionate and sublime than any part of Virgil, and being also much above the tender and elegant genius of Catullus, whose name it bears, inclines me to think it a translation from some Grecian writer."

Atthis has lost his country, his possessions, his parents, his friends, his lovers, the agora, the palaestra, the gymnasium, the running-ground, his manhood and his hope of children; but there is nothing about conjugal love.

¹ Cf. Pausanias, ix. 5, 9. 'Ὡς δὲ τὸν οἶκον τὸν Ἀμφίονος καὶ Ζήθου τὸν μὲν ἡ νόσος ἡ λοιμώδης ἠρήμωσε, Ζήθῳ δὲ τὸν παῖδα ἀπέκτεινεν ἡ τεκοῦσα κατὰ δὴ τινα ἁμαρτίαν, ἐτεθνήκει δὲ ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ζῆθος, οὕτω Λαῖον ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ κατάγουσιν οἱ Θηβαῖοι. It is not necessary to suppose a dative absolute (Verrall on *Agam.*, 1276-1277, app. Z) in Pindar, *Olymp.*, ii. 42. λείφθη δὲ Θέρσανδρος ἐριπέντι Πολυνείκει, because

tryon and to Locros is the establishment of a divine succession for the one,

μὴ καθέλοι νιν αἰὼν πότμον ἐφάψαις
ὀρφανὸν γενεᾶς· ἔχεν δὲ σπέρμα μέγιστον
ἄλοχος, εὐφράνθη τε Φιδὼν ἥρως θετὸν νιόν ¹

and for the other, whose seed did not fail, the generation of a divine son in his own house

ὁ δ' ὀλβῷ φέρτατος
ἔκετ' ἐς κείνου γενεάν ²

Hence the importance of κτέανα,³ to Orestes, for instance, as son and heir,⁴ the disgrace Polynices dying or dead would have an interest in the house which was continued through Thersander. *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus, Introduction, Moral and Religious Ideas. "The community of interest embraced not only the members of the family living at the time; it extended also to the dead, between whom and the living the mere fact of dissolution made no essential rupture. The ancestor who committed a crime might at any time be penalized in the person of his descendant, on whom he depended for vital nourishment and his degree of honour among the dead. If the descendants were extinguished altogether, the fate of the ancestors would be miserable indeed."

¹ Pindar, *Olymp.* ix. 60-62.

² Pindar, *Nemean*, x. 14.

³ Aeschylus, *Choephoroi*, 300. καὶ πρὸς πιέζει χρημάτων ἀχηνία cf. 274. ἀποχρημάτοις ζημίαις ταυρούμενον.

⁴ Important as a base above which man must rise, κτεάνων ψυχὰς ἔχοντες κρέσσονας ἄνδρες (*Nemean*, ix).

among the Spartans of alienating a κλῆρος, which was the base of family existence¹: all feelings which are human or universal, but which reach their height only when the male idea is dominant. Then to the human reason, that a man may possess γηροβοσκοί, and to the theological reason, that his descendants may perpetuate worship on the family hearth, is added the ideal reason, that thus and no otherwise could life be continued in that scheme which he had loved:

‘Αμές ποκ’ ἡμες ἄλκιμοι νεανίαί.

‘Αμές δὲ γ’ ἡμες αἱ δὲ λῆς, αὐγάσδεο.

‘Αμές δὲ γ’ ἐσσόμεσθα πολλῶ κάρρονες.²

The fatherly and the loving are one, for both the father and the lover turn to the man-child. We need not search Plato for the theory which was the theory of the Greeks at large. His Philosophical Eros is not the Uranian Eros which possessed the

¹ Hence the dignity of those τοῖσι μὲν ἐξεύχετ’ ἐν ἄστει Πειράνας σφετέρου πατρὸς ἀρχὰν καὶ βαθὺν κλᾶρον ἔμμεν καὶ μέγαρον (Pindar, *Olymp.*, xiii. 61). The βαθὺς κλᾶρος seems to be a deep-soiled plot of land.

² Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus*, 21. H. W. Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets*, “Folk-songs,” xiii.

nation, and the Uranian doctrine is not primarily either philosophical or paederastic. It is a value attached to the masculine which included philosophy as masculine and paederasty when not anti-masculine,¹ but was itself the idea and form of virtue.

It invaded the feminine, Πάλλαδα περσέπολιν δεινάν,² sprung from her father's head full-armed without womanly inheritance, Artemis, Atalanta, Penthesilea, Cyrene, those huntresses of men and of beasts who are counterparts of Achilles and of Hippolytus and the direct opposite of—what? The recumbent Hermaphrodite wrongly taken³ as perfection of both sexes, a beauty

¹ Of course there was objection to ἀναισχυντία and to the withdrawal of a lad from his proper training (Oxyrhynchus Papyri, iii. 471) or from fatherhood.

² Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 967. Also Theba, cf. Pindar : πλάξιππον Θήβαν, χρύσασπι Θήβα, εὐάρματε Θήβα.

³ Swinburne, *Notes on Poems and Reviews* : "How favourite and frequent a vision among the Greeks was this of the union of the sexes in one body of perfect beauty, none need be told. The sad and subtle moral of this myth is that perfection once attained on all sides is a thing thenceforward barren of use or fruit ; whereas the divided beauty of separate woman and man—a thing inferior and imperfect—can serve all turns of life." P. Herrmann, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, under "Hermaphroditos," does not apply this idea to the statue, and

hardly epicene, since it preserves but one attribute of the male, and is rather the perfection of weakness: a paradox which serves as a guide; for, as a quality shows best in that sex to which it does not belong, as resistance and courage are most dramatically effective in Antigone and *θράσος* in Clytaemestra, so Alexandrine art becomes an "ardent intercessor"¹ for luxury and softness, and casts a sunset light over the lost boy, loved as wolves love a lamb. It would have us for once acknowledge the beauty of this extreme dissolution and defeat, and so the feminine is shown more clearly appearing where it should not be, as *ἀνδρεία* appears in the huntresses, and a definition is given by contraries of that formula to which the Greek race adhered. The undulous and petulant lines, the relaxation and abandonment, seemed to plead: "It might be so; it would not be utterly ignoble if it should be so," and in this ultra-catholic appreciation and heresy is implied the true standard and nobleness; the deflexion refers us to the line.

cannot be said to agree with Swinburne—rather with the interpretation given in the text.

¹ Shelley, "Ode to Liberty," stanza xvii.

To the feminine in the feminine, the Uranian idea is not unfriendly ; and, if this is a chilly saying, we must distinguish. Friendship proper unites men. Woman, to the Uranian, is a further being, we might say a negative compared to a positive electricity ; the exchange of fire is τῶν μεγάλων πάρεδρος ἐν ἀρχαῖς θεσμῶν¹ ; but, whereas the French tell us that *l'amitié est l'amour sans ailes*, and whereas Plato has the same argument in favour of the masculine Eros, himself a winged lad, and the origin of the notion, yet love should be ranked below friendship as the female below the male. We have here something parallel to St. Catherine's saying : " I assure you, I only love you for God,"² when urged to rejoin

¹ Sophocles, *Antigone*, 797.

² Augusta Theodosia Drane, *The History of Saint Catherine of Siena*, Part ii., Chapter xii., St. Catherine writes : " I know, my dearest daughters, that you are afflicted at my absence, but love and obedience will dissipate your grief. . . . We must do, as the Apostles did when they had received the Holy Spirit ; they separated from each other, and from their sweet mother Mary. We may well believe that their only happiness was to live all together, and yet they renounced that happiness, in order to seek the honour of God and the salvation of souls ; and when Mary their mother left

her friends who needed her and desert what she thought her duty. That prime love which in them as in her should supersede and include all other love and constitute a link sufficiently close ("my grace is sufficient for thee"¹), this passion which in a priest is to exclude "*les amitiés particulières*,"² being

them, they did not think her love for them had diminished, or that they were forgotten by her. I know my presence is a consolation to you, but for God's honour and the salvation of souls you ought to seek your own consolation. . . . I assure you I only love you all for God; why, then, feel such unreasonable pain at what cannot be helped?"

¹ 2 Corinthians xii. 9.

² Renan, *Souvenirs de Jeunesse*, vi., iv. 4. "Une des choses les plus recommandées au séminaire était d'éviter 'les amitiés particulières.' De telles amitiés étaient présentées comme un vol fait à la communauté. Cette règle m'est restée très profondément gravée dans l'esprit. . . . Je me dis quelquefois . . . que, dans un monde supérieur, l'amitié disparaîtrait. . . . Tout en ayant beaucoup aimé mes amis, je leur ai donc très peu donné. Le public m'a eu autant qu'eux." As the most personal love is displaced by friendship, so friendship is displaced by the love of Christ. This love is tested by love of the brethren, but love of the brethren tends to become impersonal as in St. Catherine. Renan skips the stage of friendship and, losing belief in Christ, there remains to him what corresponds to the love of the brethren, the service of the public. The omission of friendship inculcated by his preceptors was easy to him; cf.

set on the permanent which all share, a love not of humanity temporary and transitory but of humanity in Jesus, who includes all in his own body, as a saint covers her worshippers with her garment, this ideal love, no longer love in the ordinary sense, is distantly comparable to friendship rising above the ordinary love and resting on the spirit alone, and woman is conceived not as its minister but rather as *amour sans ailes*, earth-walking, not heavenly nor rapturous ; or else as mother worthy of all reverence, like the motherland, the ground of all departures, or as sister and helper of the family, like Electra, and then noble, but not and never as an associate quite equal to the task of friendship as conceived by the Greeks, that is to say, a greater friendship than ours.¹ Even in modern days it is

Souvenirs, ii., vi. "Très tôt, le goût des jeunes filles fut vif en moi. Je les préférais de beaucoup aux petits garçons." In the Greek world friendship was the last earthly stage, and remained vivid. Its start had been masculine love.

¹ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, viii. and ix. "All here is broadly human ; and yet the idea of 'Friendship' is purely Greek. The Romans imitated it. But in modern times it has been much superseded by the idea of sympathetic marriage. Christianity ignores friend-

high praise to say of a wife that she has been your best friend and implies an exaltation of married love above its inevitable self.

Now the Dorian blood, defending itself in hill-fortresses, among those stony heights which cover Greece with their severity and produced its hard health, that blood, martial by birth, breeding, and necessity, which casts its masculine shadow over Attic tragedy, reclaiming within bounds the fullness of Homeric life that causes the Epic poet to be beloved for his naturalness by our moderns, elusive of rigour, that hardy race which had established its Apollo in Delphi, which had ennobled and strengthened morals,¹ and

ship ; and theoretically it now exists only as a temporary advantage for the young." Grant, *The Ethics of Aristotle*.

¹ J. S. Mill, "The Utility of Religion." "The greatest recorded victory which education has ever achieved over a whole host of natural inclinations in an entire people—the maintenance through centuries of the institutions of Lycurgus." "The most memorable example of the power of education over conduct is afforded . . . by this exceptional case." Cf. Malthus, *The Principle of Population*, Vol. i., Book i., Chapter v. : "The preposterous system of Spartan discipline, and that unnatural absorption of every private feeling in concern for the public, which has sometimes been so absurdly admired, could never have existed but among a people exposed to perpetual hardships and privations from incessant war,

given birth to an Heraclidan order now centuries old, found its last prophet in Pindar, the "only orthodox" poet of Greece,¹ and, if Greece contrasted with humanity was orthodox, the one sane guide to poetry of life. In other poets we have beginnings: in him we should have what is certain to find its place in the end.

The victorial odes have a bloom which remains from undoubting youth, a simple acceptance of what had not yet been questioned. Here, then, we find the view normal

and in a state under the constant fear of dreadful reverses of fortune. Instead of considering these phenomena as indicating any peculiar tendency to fortitude and patriotism in the disposition of the Spartans, I should merely consider them as a strong indication of the miserable and almost savage state of Sparta, and of Greece in general at that time. Like the commodities in the market, those virtues will be produced in the greatest quantity, for which there is the greatest demand; and where patience under pain and privations, and extravagant patriotic sacrifices, are the most called for, it is a melancholy indication of the misery of the people, and the insecurity of the state."

¹ Gilbert Murray, *Ancient Greek Literature*, Chapter x., "Aeschylus." "The only orthodox Greek writer preserved to us is Pindar." Of course the statement above refers only to such poets as we possess in remains adequate to influence us.

to the ancient training and success. Observe how gentle are Pindar's words of women. There is not one harshness in his analysis of the motives of the *νηλὴς γυνά* Clytemnestra.¹ *νηλὴς* is only a statement of fact.² For the rest, was she angered? Was she misled? Coronis³ was of that vainest nature found among men (he does not say specially women, though the nature is specially feminine⁴) which sets no limit on its unfulfilled hopes, and so disregarded the holy seed which she bore; Alcmena⁵ is bold to protect her children (with Greek reason, for one of them was Heracles). Only when the poet writes⁶ of the youth in whose arms he died, leaving a consecration to those seats which we may yet see in the theatre of Argos, speaking of the eyes⁷ of the lad, as

¹ *Pyth.*, xi. 17-32.

² Cf. Homer's *νηλέϊ χαλκῶ*.

³ *Pyth.*, iii. 15-30.

⁴ Pausanias, viii. 24, 9. ἐς ἐπιθυμίας δὲ ἀνοήτους πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνδρες, γυναῖκες δὲ ἔτι πλεον(ες) ἐξοκέλλουσιν. ἐπεθύμησεν ἡ Καλλιρόη τῆς Ἐριφύλης οἱ γενέσθαι τὸν ὄρμον.

⁵ *Nem.*, i. 48-50.

⁶ Pindar, Fragment, 123.

⁷ Francis Thompson, *Paganism Old and New*. "That Paganism had no real sense of the exquisite in female

Shakespeare speaks of music,¹ does he accuse those who are not filled with a like longing of hard hearts, labouring constrainedly for riches, or else following as servitors in the track of female presumption, in either case unhonoured by Aphrodite.² The long tale of diatribes against women from Semonides of Amorgos to Euripides, hostilities congenerous to mounting ambitions and springing like Hippocrene from the kick of Pegasus, do not belong here. Antagonism to the feminine does not arise when the citadel

features is evident from its statues and few extant paintings : mere regularity of form is all it sees. . . . But the most surprising indication of this blindness to the subtler qualities of beauty is the indifference of the ancient singers to what in our estimation is the most lovely and important feature in a woman—the eye.”

¹ Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, Act v., Scene i., 83–85.

² Otherwise Euripides, *Hipp.* and *Phaethon*. Nauck. *Tragicorum Graecorum*, Fragment, 781.

Ὕμῃν Ὕμῃν,
τὰν Διὸς οὐρανίαν αἰείδομεν
τὰν ἐρώτων πότνιαν, τὰν παρθένοις
γαμήλιον Ἀφροδίταν :
and of the bride it is said :
ἀ τὸν μέγαν
τᾶσδε πόλεως βασιλῇ νυμφεύεται
. . . φίλον Ἀφροδίτα.

and hope of manhood are unattacked. They were to be attacked, and twenty ¹ years later Clytaemestra is shown as a vengeance worthy of vengeance. But this is not wholly due to the threat of change ; it lies in the necessities of tragedy.

¹ Literally sixteen. The ode Pythian xi., in which Pindar speaks of Clytaemestra, is of the year 474. The production of the Aeschylean trilogy herein called the *Oresteia*, though that name seems rather to have been given to the single play of the *Choephoroi*, fell in 458.

III

THE HERO IN TRAGEDY

TRAGEDY required a legend ; the legends were concerned with heroes, and the view of life connected with them was old inheritance to be mixed with later observations. So far its matter is epic, gnostic, or lyric. But it also required pathos, and this is found in some slip of the hero which brought about his ruin. Now, since, in this tracing of the consequences of sin, there is a likeness to modern religion, we follow the resemblance rather than the difference, and do not see the greatness of the men who failed, the opposition which the Greeks felt and pitied between the noble and the *allzu-menschlich*¹ ;

¹ Emile Faguet, *Dix-septième Siècle*, quotes from St. Evremond. "Je finirai par un sentiment hardi et nouveau, c'est que l'on doit rechercher à la tragédie avant toutes choses une grandeur d'âme bien exprimée qui excite en nous une tendre admiration." . . . "Je veux

Nemesis is real ; but the great national progenitors and protectors are not vivid to us as they were to those who appealed to them in their political parleys and treaties. Agamemnon is one of the best known ; yet neither Homer nor Aeschylus quite prepares us for his laud in Isocrates.¹

Ἀγαμέμνονα τὸν οὐ μίαν οὐδὲ δύο σχόντα μόνον ἀρετὰς ἀλλὰ πάσας, ὅσας ἂν ἔχοι τις εἰπεῖν, καὶ ταύτας οὐ μετρίως ἀλλ' ὑπερβαλλόντως· οὐδένα γὰρ εὐρήσομεν τῶν ἀπάντων οὔτε ἰδιωτέρας πράξεις μεταχειρισάμενον οὔτε καλλίους οὔτε μείζους οὔτε ὠφελιμωτέρας οὔτε πλειόνων ἐπαίνων ἀξίας, καὶ τούτοις οὕτω μὲν ἀπηριθμημένοις εἰκότως ἂν τινες ἀπιστήσειαν, μικρῶν δὲ περὶ ἐκάστου ῥηθέντων ἅπαντες ἂν ἀληθῆ με λέγειν ὁμολογήσειαν.

οὐ δύναμαι δὲ κατιδεῖν ἀλλ' ἀπορῶ ποίοις ἂν λόγοις μετὰ ταῦτα χρησάμενος ὀρθῶς εἶην βεβουλευμένος.

αἰσχύνομαι μὲν γὰρ, εἰ τοσαῦτα περὶ τῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος ἀρετῆς προειρηκὼς μηδενὸς μνησθήσομαι τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου πεπραγμένων, ἀλλὰ δόξω τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὅμοιος εἶναι τοῖς ἀλαζονευομένοις

qu'on plaigne l'infortune d'un héros . . . mais je veux que ces larmes tendres et généreuses regardent ensemble ses malheurs et ses vertus, et qu'avec le triste sentiment de la pitié nous ayons celui d'une admiration qui fasse naître en nous le désir de l'imiter."

¹ Isocrates, *Panathenaicus*, 72 sq.

καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἂν τύχωσιν ὁρῶ δὲ τὰς πράξεις
τὰς ἔξω λέγομενας τῶν ὑποθεσέων οὐκ ἐπαινουμένας
ἀλλὰ ταραχώδεις εἶναι δοκούσας, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν
ὄντας τοὺς κακῶς χρωμένους αὐταῖς, πολὺ δὲ
πλείους τοὺς ἐπιτιμῶντας. διὸ δέδοικα μὴ καὶ
περὶ ἐμὲ συμβῇ τι τοιοῦτον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' αἰροῦμαι
βοηθῆσαι τῷ ταῦτόν ἐμοί τε καὶ πολλοῖς πεπονθότι
καὶ διημαρτηκότι τῆς δόξης ἧς προσῆκε τυχεῖν
αὐτόν, καὶ μεγίστων μὲν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίῳ γεγενημένῳ
περὶ ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον, ἥττον δ' ἐπαινουμένῳ τῶν
οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου διαπεπραγμένων.

Τί γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐνέλιπεν, ὅς τηλικαύτην μὲν
ἔσχε τιμὴν, ἧς εἰ πάντες συνελθόντες μείζω
ζητοῖεν, οὐδέποτ' ἂν εὐρεῖν δυνηθεῖεν; ὁ μόνος γὰρ
ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἠξιώθη γενέσθαι στρατηγός,
ὁπότερον εἴθ' ὑπὸ πάντων αἰρεθεῖς εἴτ' αὐτὸς
κτησάμενος οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν. ὁποτέρως δ' οὖν
συμβέβηκεν, οὐδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν λέλοιπε τῆς
περὶ αὐτόν δόξης τοῖς ἄλλως πως τιμηθεῖσιν.
ταύτην δὲ λαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν οὐκ ἔστιν ἦντινα
τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἐλύπησεν ἀλλ' οὕτως ἦν
πόρρω τοῦ περὶ τινος ἑξαμαρτεῖν ὥστε παραλαβὼν
τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ πολλοῖς κακοῖς ὄντας
τούτων μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀπήλλαξεν, εἰς ὁμόνοιαν δὲ
καταστήσας τὰ μὲν περιττὰ τῶν ἔργων καὶ
τερατώδη καὶ μηδὲν ὠφελούντα τοὺς ἄλλους
ὑπερεῖδε στρατόπεδον δὲ συστήσας ἐπὶ τοὺς
βαρβάρους ἤγαγεν. τούτου δὲ κάλλιον στρατή-
γημα καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὠφελιμώτερον οὐδεὶς
φανήσεται πράξας οὔτε τῶν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν
χρόνον εὐδοκιμησάντων οὔτε τῶν ὕστερον ἐπιγενο-

μένων. ἄκείνος πράξας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑποδείξας οὐχ οὕτως εὐδοκίμησεν ὥς προσῆκεν αὐτὸν διὰ τοὺς μᾶλλον ἀγαπῶντας τὰς θαυματοποιίας τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν καὶ τὰς ψευδολογίας τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀλλὰ τοιοῦτος γενόμενος ἐλάττω δόξαν ἔχει τῶν οὐδὲ μιμήσασθαι τολμησάντων αὐτόν.

οὐ μόνον δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἂν τις αὐτὸν ἐπαινέσειεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφ' οἷς περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἔπραξεν. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ μεγαλοφροσύνης ἦλθεν ὥστ' οὐκ ἀπέχρησεν αὐτῷ λαβεῖν στρατιώτας τῶν ἰδιώτων ὁπόσους ἐξ ἐκάστης ἠβουλήθη τῆς πόλεως ἀλλὰ τοὺς βασιλέας τοὺς ποιούντας ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ὅ τι βουληθεῖεν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προστάττοντας τούτους ἔπεισεν ὑφ' αὐτῷ γενέσθαι καὶ συνακολουθεῖν ἐφ' οὓς ἂν ἡγῇται καὶ ποιεῖν τὸ προσταττόμενον καὶ βασιλικὸν βίον ἀφέντας στρατιωτικῶς ζῆν ἔτι δὲ κινδυνεύειν καὶ πολεμεῖν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς σφετέρας αὐτῶν πατρίδος καὶ βασιλείας ἀλλὰ λόγῳ μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἑλένης τῆς Μενελάου γυναικὸς ἔργῳ δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάσχειν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων μήτε τοιαῦτα μήθ' οἷα πρότερον αὐτῇ συνέπεσε περὶ τὴν Πέλοπος μὲν ἀπάσης Πελοποννήσου κατάληψιν Δαναοῦ δὲ τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ἀργειῶν, Κάδμου δὲ Θηβῶν· ὧν τίς ἄλλος φανήσεται προνοηθεὶς ἢ τίς ἐμποδὼν καταστάς τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι γενέσθαι τοιοῦτον πλὴν τῆς ἐκείνου φύσεως καὶ δυνάμεως; τὸ τοίνυν ἐχόμενον ὃ τῶν μὲν προειρημένων ἐλαττόν ἐστι τῶν δὲ πολλάκις ἐγκωμιασμένων μείζον καὶ λόγου μᾶλλον ἄξιον· στρατόπεδον γὰρ συνεληλυθὸς ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν πολέων τοσοῦτον τὸ πλῆθος ὅσον εἰκὸς ὃ πολλοὺς

εἶχεν ἐν αὐτῷ τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ θεῶν τοὺς δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν
 τῶν θεῶν γεγονότας οὐχ ὁμοίως διακειμένους τοῖς
 πολλοῖς οὐδ' ἴσον φρονούντας τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλ'
 ὀργῆς καὶ θυμοῦ καὶ φθόνου καὶ φιλοτιμίας
 μεστοὺς ἀλλ' ὅμως τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔτη δέκα κατέσχευεν
 οὐ μισθοφοραῖς μεγάλαις οὐδὲ χρημάτων δαπάναις
 αἷς νῦν ἅπαντες δυναστεύουσιν ἀλλὰ τῷ καὶ
 φρονήσει διαφέρειν καὶ δύνασθαι τροφήν ἐκ τῶν
 πολεμίων τοῖς στρατιώταις πορίζειν καὶ μάλιστα
 τῷ δοκεῖν ἐκείνον ἄμεινον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων
 βουλευέσθαι σωτηρίας ἢ τοὺς ἄλλους περὶ σφῶν
 αὐτῶν. τὸ τοίνυν τέλος ὃ πᾶσι τούτοις ἐπέθηκεν
 οὐδενὸς ἦττον προσήκει θαυμάζειν· οὐ γὰρ ἀπρεπὲς
 οὐδ' ἀνάξιον τῶν προειρημένων φανήσεται ποιη-
 σάμενος ἀλλὰ λόγῳ μὲν πρὸς μίαν πόλιν πολε-
 μήσας ἔργῳ δ' οὐ μόνον πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς τὴν
 Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦντας ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλα γένη
 πολλὰ τῶν βαρβάρων κινδυνεύων οὐκ ἀπεῖπεν
 οὐδ' ἀπῆλθε πρὶν τὴν τε πόλιν τοῦ τολμήσαντος
 ἐξαμαρτεῖν ἐξηνδραποδίσατο καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους
 ἱπασεν ὑβρίζοντας.

This encomium, so far removed from modern praise of character, so distinctly accorded to the qualities of a ruler and of a Prometheus, gives us the background against which we must imagine the action of the *Oresteia*. To such a man the Greeks looked. To them such a hero was a necessity, his sin a *πάρεργον* provocative of pity because of his greatness, but not annulling

the crime of his murder nor the importance of the descendant rule of his blood. To moderns the sin and its retribution are the essential.¹

Yet which was more important to Vergil we see in his Aeneas, who likewise commits a fault, that will bring down the vengeance of Hannibal, but who was yet right, even according to Dante,² in deserting Dido that he might found, *non sponte*,³ the ultimately

¹ Unless they are all. E. D. A. Morshead, Preface to *The House of Atreus*. "The Trilogy is Aeschylus' presentment of two problems, each of eternal import. These problems are :

" 1. The Retribution of Crime.

2. The Inheritance or Transmission of Evil."

Swinburne, *Under the Microscope*. "The hinge of the *Oresteia* from first to last is the sacrifice at Aulis."

² *Convivio*, iv., xxvi. "E quanto *raffrenare* fu quello quando, avendo ricevuto da Dido tanto di piacere quanto di sotto nel settimo Trattato si dirá, e usando con essa tanto di dilettazone, egli si parti per seguire onesta e laudabile via e fruttuosa, come nel quarto dell' *Eneida* é scritto !"

³ Vergil, *Aeneid*, iv., 361. "Italiam non sponte sequor." The speech is the justification which, as we shall see, Jason had not. Apollo and Jove are the authorities, as for Orestes. Aeneas is like Orestes fulfilling a duty to his father, and Ascanius has the right of descent to claim it. A Pindaric justification would perhaps not have

victorious Rome. The gravity in both cases is the weight of the sceptre, the necessity of a man who shall rule and whose descendants shall rule. It is not specifically Greek but, rather, ancient. Eve alone could not have handed down original sin¹; Adam, parting from his right of "despotic power,"² is seduced by her to our undoing: closer is the analogy of King Arthur's fault and Mordred, which does not prevent the king

represented Aeneas as reluctant and constrained by duty, *pious*, though Pindar would have recognized a divine intention, cf. what he says of Neoptolemos

Μολοσσία δ' ἐμβασίλευεν ὀλίγον
χρόνον· ἀτὰρ γένος αἰεὶ φέρειν
τοῦτό φοι γέρας. . . .

His race brought rule with it. In the end he is destined or needed to guard Delphi.

ἀλλὰ τὸ μόνιμον ἀπέδωκεν ἐχρῆν
δέ τιν' ἔνδον ἄλσει παλαιτάτῳ
Αἰακιδᾶν κρεόντων τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμμεναι
θεοῦ παρ' εὐτειχέα δόμον, ἥροταις δὲ πομπαῖς
θεμισκόπον οἰκεῖν ἔόντα πολυθύτοις.

κρεόντων reminds us that two mothers of two destined rulers were named Creusa, the mother of Ion and the mother of Ascanius; they brought rule with them.

¹ St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*, Prima Secundae lxxxii. 5. He founds his view, however, on the "doctrina Philosophorum."

² Milton, *Samson Agonistes*, 1054.

from being a great hero. Would a modern so praise a man? Tennyson did not.¹ Or, to put it more simply, could a modern praise a man?² What are the qualities which constitute praiseworthy manhood?

¹ Swinburne, *Under the Microscope*. "Wishing to make his central figure the noble and perfect symbol of an ideal man, he has removed not merely the excuse but the explanation of the fatal and tragic loves of Launcelot and Guenevere. The hinge of the whole legend of the Round Table, from its first glory to its final fall, is the incestuous birth of Mordred from the connexion of Arthur with his half-sister, unknowing and unknown; as surely as the hinge of the *Oresteia* from first to last is the sacrifice of Aulis. The story as it stood of old had in it something almost of Hellenic dignity and significance; in it as in the great Greek legends we could trace from a seemingly small root of evil the birth and growth of a calamitous fate, not sent by mere malevolence of heaven, yet in its awful weight and mystery of darkness apparently out of all due retributive proportion to the careless sin or folly of presumptuous weakness which first incurred its infliction; so that by mere hasty resistance and return of violence for violence [the reference to Oedipus] a noble man may unwittingly bring on himself and all his house the curse denounced on parricide; by mere casual indulgence of light love and passing wantonness a hero-king may unknowingly bring on himself and all his kingdom the doom imposed on incest."

² Austin Dobson, *Fielding*, Chapter v. "To our modern ideas, when no one dares, as Thackeray complained, 'to depict to his utmost power a Man,' " etc.

IV

THE RULING OF APOLLO

IF your ideal of life is self-sacrifice, you will be subject to the constant disappointment of finding men busied with self-preservation, and so will you be disappointed whenever you deify what is not in accordance with the principles from which life proceeds and continues. If, *per contra*, you accept the function of man in its three phases, will (or action), feeling and thought, then, together with love, you dignify what is neither self-sacrifice nor love, namely doing and thinking.¹ You

¹ Lord Hugh Cecil, *Conservatism*, Chapter v. "Skilled men get more than unskilled, and some sorts of skill are more highly paid than other sorts. But there is no ethical merit in the skill that is most regarded, and no ethical defect in the lack of skill that is most lowly paid. Ethics are beside the point; desert is irrelevant. The forces that make wealth are never ethical; even those gains that depend upon exertion do not correspond to

are not at the mercy of Shelley's laments over the lovelessness of mankind. The further his ideal from the real, the more truthful his statement of the divergence, the greater was your despondency, whereas, if you recognize what seems to be soulless¹

desert." *Per contra* G. Lowes Dickinson, "Eastern and Western Ideals," in the *Christian Century Magazine*, 1906. "In a passage quoted by Mr. Bryan, I wrote that the precepts of the Gospel 'are remarkable not more for their tender and touching appeal to brotherly love than for their aversion from or indifference to all the elements of human excellence!' To that passage I adhere. The Gospels preach virtue in the Christian sense; they do not preach it in the pagan sense. They lay stress on love; they lay little stress on the qualities that deserve love. Man is a creature with a passion for knowledge, for power, for accomplishment, for beauty. But none of these things are represented in the teaching of Christ or his followers. There is a whole positive side of life which is emphasized by Plato and Aristotle, and ignored by the Gospels."

¹ William Watson to Edward Dowden: "Keats great with somewhat of a glorious soullessness." Perhaps, in the Christian sense; but in the Pagan we suspect a grandeur lost. Cf. Keats' "Sonnet on Seeing the Elgin Marbles for the First Time."

"My spirit is too weak. Mortality
Weighs heavily on me like unwilling sleep
And each imagined pinnacle and steep
Of God-like hardship tells me I must die
Like a sick eagle looking on the sky."

as the riding-ground of Ganymed,¹ the athletic training which gave him beauty and, by the aid of the Cyprian, turned from him shameless fate,² there is less reason to lose

Maeterlinck, *Trésor des Humbles*, "Le Réveil de l'Âme."
"Il y a des siècles parfaits où l'intelligence et la beauté règnent très purement, mais où l'âme ne se montre point. Ainsi, elle est très loin de la Grèce et de Rome. On ne sait pas pourquoi, mais quelque chose n'est pas là ; des communications secrètes sont coupées, et la beauté ferme les yeux [that is to say, you reach τὸ πεπερασμένον]. Il est bien difficile d'exprimer ceci par des mots et de dire pour quelles raisons l'atmosphère de divinité et de fatalité qui entoure les drames grecs ne semble pas l'atmosphère véritable de l'âme. On découvre à l'horizon de ces tragédies admirables un mystère permanent et vénérable aussi [the background of mortal uncertainty against which the figures are defined] ; mais ce n'est pas le mystère attendri, fraternel et si profondément actif que nous trouvons en maintes œuvres moins grandes et moins belles." That is to say, Maeterlinck misses the chord of the seventh, the moral yearning and consolation, which might less accord with grandeur.

¹ Euripides, *Orestes*, 1389-1390.

Δαρδανία τλάμων, Γανυμήδεος
ἱπποσύνα Διὸς εὐνέτα.

² Pindar, *Olymp.*, x. 99.

παῖδ' ἐρατὸν δ' Ἀρχεστράτου
αἶνησα, τὸν εἶδον κρατέοντα χερὸς ἀλκᾶ
βωμὸν παρ' Ὀλύμπιον
κεῖνον κατὰ χρόνον
ιδέα τε καλόν

hope ; rather you find your element as Bellerophon, mounted on his winged steed εὐθύς ἐνόπλια χαλκωθείς ἔπαιζεν.¹ By admitting more qualities to our love, qualities less moral in the Christian sense, more moral perhaps in the Greek sense, and certainly more masculine (for, if feeling is feminine, doing is less so, and thinking least), we avoid making the world a spiritual prison-house ; we are no longer friends of the impossible. The last words of Shelley's Fourth Eclogue, if we may so call it, his chorus on the Golden Age,² are a lament ; the last words of his Prometheus are pure :

ὦρα τε κεκραμένον, ἃ ποτε
ἀναιδέα Γαμμήδαι ποτμον ἀλαλχε σὺν Κυπρογενεῖ.

Γαμμήδαι pro Γανυμήδαι metri gratia scripsi.

Ganymed was the only human being of mortal parentage (on both sides) who was ever taken into heaven. Cf. *Scholium on Aristophanes, Pax*, 724.

¹ Pindar, *Olymp.*, xiii. 86.

² Last chorus of "Hellas," last stanza.

"O cease ! must hate and death return ?
Cease ! must men kill and die ?
Cease ! drain not to its dregs the urn
Of bitter prophecy.
The world is weary of the past,
O might it die or rest at last !"

Christianity.¹ No doubt it is better to conceive God, or the power of good, as an under-might slowly working upward, since then our task as his helpers possesses the appeal of tragedy (to whom can the animals appeal, if not to humanity?) than as a supreme "not ourselves that makes for righteousness,"² whether we will or no, a view which lends itself to quietism. But the Greek Prometheus, a hero in Shelley's sense, wrestling for the right, nevertheless received, it seems, in the eventual reconciliation of the Aeschylean trilogy blame for excess in that he had disregarded a wiser than himself, and had denied him the secret which was necessary to maintain his rule,

¹ Last stanza of "Prometheus Unbound."

"To suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite ;
To forgive wrongs darker than death or might ;
To defy Power, which seems omnipotent ;
To love, and bear ; to hope till Hope creates
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates ;
Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent ;
This, like thy glory, Titan, is to be
Good, great and joyous, beautiful, and free ;
This is alone Life, Joy, Empire, and Victory."

² Matthew Arnold, *God and the Bible*, p. xxvii. "Our God is the eternal not ourselves that makes for righteousness."

the rule which Prometheus himself had got for him. There was more at stake than pity for man. Now the Christian doctrine sets pity, as part of the perfection of our nature in *charitas*, or love, so high that we are in danger of a simple solution which shall exclude much of life and degrade the nature by which we live.¹ It excludes in fact that which is distinctive of the masculine, the noble, which the mere lovers of their fellow-men, the lovers only of love,² behold as a Pagan wonder, with some doubt whether it is not earthly pride, the grand, whereof there is more in the Old Testament and in Aeschylus than in the New Testament, a majesty that dwells in the rents and chasms of barren Parnassus, an altitude whereto home is not kindred.³ But forasmuch as this in nature and in northern ideals tends to the savage,⁴ and, like the sea in

¹ See p. 39, note.

² Swinburne, *Pelagius*.

³ Wordsworth, *To a Sky-lark*.

“Ethereal minstrel.

True to the kindred points of Heaven and Home.”

⁴ As Samson's strength lay in his hair, so Heracles was μελάμπυγος and Achilles hairy-chested, that is to say, the excellence of manhood, τοὺς γὰρ δασεῖς τὰς πυγὰς

Byron,¹ is beloved by reaction as an escape from man and from the home-like (our modernity delighting in changes and in extremes and never contented with an united severity and beauty), we may liken that part of the

ἀνδρείους ἐνόμιζον (Hesychius quoted in Stephanus), was thought to consist in its utmost differentiation from the feminine, a savage idea ; but against it we may remember that the weapon of the Homeric Heracles is, not the club, but the bow ; or else he wears ordinary armour. This (in spite of the bow of Ulysses) suggests adroitness rather than strength. Paris was a good archer, even when his arrow was not directed by Apollo. In Pindar (*Isthm.*, iv., Ep. γ) Heracles is

μορφὰν βραχύς,
ψυχὰν δ' ἄκαμptos.

Small men are considered clever, like Aesop. The Myronic Heracles, though he has the club, is clearly a gentleman. It was left to Glycon to clothe the Lysippan Heracles in ugly muscles. The true examples of roughness are the giants, who were early subdued.

¹ *Childe Harold*, Canto iv., Stanzas 75-84. Byron says, it is true,

“ I love not Man the less, but Nature more.”

The words, however, to judge by the part which man plays in the following stanzas, mean no more than the lines in the preceding stanza :

“ Oh ! that the Desert were my dwelling-place
With one fair Spirit for my minister
That I might all forget the human race,
And, hating no one, love but only her.”

masculine which is not love to Agamemnon and its law-giver to the divine figure of Apollo whom weeping comes not nigh,

οὐ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ὥστε θρηνητοῦ τυχεῖν¹

Apollo Πατρῶος, who cares not for the sufferings of Creusa, but who justifies in the end that tragedy of Long Rocks which gave to Athens a leader by right of descent and by right divine,² trained in the purity of the Delphic temple; Apollo Καθάριστος, who would launch his winged snakes against the Furies, but who, despite his words of abuse, does not seem much to hate them, because, being ugly, they cannot concern him. He dwells in unapproached light, foreseeing the end—from the beginning, Ζηνὸς εὐειδῆς Ἀπόλλων πάσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος συλλαβών· ἔχει δὲ λαμπρὸν πληκτρον ἡλίου φάος³

¹ Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1075. Cf. lines 1078–1079 :

ἡ δ' αὖτε δυσφημοῦσα τὸν θεὸν καλεῖ
οὐδὲν προσήκοντ' ἐν γόοις παραστατεῖν.

Cf. the prohibition of interment in the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin at Chartres, *The Story of Chartres*, by Cecil Headlam, p. 198.

² The right of descent through the female would not have sufficed without the right divine and the Delphic sanction.

³ Scythinus, *Pomtow*, Vol. ii., p. 203.

Whatever can achieve much is his care ; the rest is better away, wherefore he is indifferently destroyer and healer,¹ so he accomplish his high purpose. He cures Battus and sends him forth to be the heroic founder of Cyrene. He builds Troy ὀρθοῖς κάνοσι,² Ζηνὸς Ἀπόλλων, his son, his prophet ; to none other does he owe allegiance ; and by that allegiance are in fact decided the feminine, personal, and pathetic claims of Iphigenia and of Clytaemestra, the θράσος γυναικεῖον is set down from its seat and the verdict given by the daughter of the king of gods in favour of the son of the king of

¹ Destroyer, Ἀπόλλων, *Wecklein ad Aesch. Agamemnon*, 1065, quotes Archilochus (Bergk. P.L.G.), 27 :

Ἀναξ Ἀπόλλων, καὶ σὺ τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους
σῆμαινε καὶ σφέας ὄλλυ' ὥσπερ ὀλλύεις,

and Euripides, *Phaethon*, 781 (Nauck T.G.F.) :

ὦ καλλιφεγγὲς Ἥλι'-ὥς μ' ἀπώλεσας
καὶ τόνδ' Ἀπόλλων δ' ἐν βροτοῖς ὀρθῶς καλῇ
ὅστις τὰ σιγῶντ' ὀνόματ' οἶδε δαιμόνων.

Healer, Παιάν (cf. Pindar, *Pyth.*, iv. 271) :

ἔσσι δ' ἱατὴρ ἐπικαιρότατος Παιάν τέ τοι τιμᾷ φάος

Light is in Euripides associated with destruction ; in Pindar with healing.

² Euripides, *Troades*, 5.

men. It is given with the noble support ¹ of Electra against her sister and on behalf of the rightful succession of her brother against her mother, and it is a strong judgment in that it does not veil the fault of the father at Aulis²; nor the amour with Cassandra, nor the family curse, nor the horror of the

¹ The legend of the friendship of Orestes and Pylades is said to begin with Euripides; but it is hard to believe the saying when we find that Pylades speaks only once (*Choephoroi*, 900-902) at the crucial moment of the Mother's most intimate appeal to decide Orestes, as if friendship, that high ideal of men, were the one human support of the masculine doctrine of trilogy. Orestes is eighteen or twenty years old (Höfer in Roscher's *Lexikon*, Art. "Orestes," pp. 956, 964, 955; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Orestie. Opfer am Grabe*, p. 171, Note on "Erkennungsscene"); Pylades presumably older. Without any erotic intention whatever, it must have suited Aeschylus to give the duty of patrimonial redemption to a lad just able to bear it, and to place beside him a friend to hearten him. "At Athens the δοκιμασία and enrolment of ἔφηβοι took place at the age of 18, when they were received into their tribe or deme, and attained their legal majority, though they did not obtain full civic rights until the age of 21" (Oxyrhynchus Papyri, iii. 477).

² Pausanias, iii. 9, 3, 226. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ, ὥς αὐτῷ τά τε οἴκοθεν καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ στράτευμα ἤθροιστο καὶ ἅμα αἱ νῆες εὐτρεπεῖς ἦσαν, ἀφίκετο ἐς Αὐλίδα τῇ Ἀρτεμίδι θύσων, ὅτι καὶ Ἀγαμέμνων ἐνταῦθα ἱλασάμενος τὴν θεὸν τὸν ἐς Τροίαν στόλον ἤγαγεν.

deed¹ of Orestes pursued by the Furies even after Apollo's cleansing

οὐ προστρόπαιον οὐδ' ἀφοίβαντον χέρα²

to the feet of Athena. The argument is, not that Agamemnon was perfect, but that man must rule.

In truth the commander had a hard decision to make. The wrath of Artemis, however occasioned,³ demanded the sacrifice.

¹ Höfer, "*Orestes*" in Roscher's *Lexikon*, p. 973. "Klytāimēstra's Ermordung ist auf Vasen mit Bestimmtheit nicht nachweisbar."

² Aesch., *Eumenides*, 237.

³ The occasion is mentioned by Aeschylus in the following words :

οἴκτῳ γὰρ ἐπίφθονος Ἄρτεμις ἄγνὰ
πτανοῖσιν κυσὶ πατρὸς
αὐτότοκον πρὸ λόχου μογεράν πτάκα θυομένοισι·
στυγεῖ δὲ δεῖπνον αἰετῶν.

The eagles (we are told) are the Atridae, but the known δεῖπνον was that of Atreus and Thyestes. Perhaps, then, the eagles are symbols in general of their rule ; and the reference is to ancestral misdeeds. But there must have been more than the δεῖπνον. Some woman big with child must have been killed. Was this the action of Thyestes and not the mere seduction of Aerope ? There is no record to prove it, but if a record has been lost all is clear. The chorus asks whether Artemis demands τούτων ξύμβολα, things corresponding to these, the slaughter of the young for the slaughter of the young

Had Iphigenia followed the virginal Menoeceus and sacrificed herself she would have done what myriads of men, hindered by her, were waiting to do at Troy. That her father should take her life was another step and no doubt a *μίασμα*. He is punished, but by a more hideous crime,

τοιάδε τόλμα· θῆλυσ ἄρσενος φονεὺς ἔστιν,¹

punished for a sin which tallies with his special glory that, in despite of difficulties, he had held the host to conquest ; but he does not die as one unworthy to have lived

φίλος φίλοισι τοῖς ἐκεῖ καλῶς θανοῦσιν
κατὰ χθονὸς ἐμπρέπων
σεμνότιμος ἀνάκτωρ,²

(Iphigenia for Aerope ? and the children of Thyestes ?). Calchas, seeing the two Atridae, understood the sinister guidance of the ancestral founders of their rule (if we may so take πομποὺς τ' ἀρχάς το ἀρχαγέτας τε). Thus we understand θυσίαν ἑτέραν ἀνομόν τινα. There had been a Thyestean sacrifice before. This bold suggestion is perhaps warranted by the weakness of other attempts to explain the meaning of Aeschylus.

¹ *Agamemnon*, 1231-1232. *Eumenides*, 625 :

οὐ γάρ τι ταῦτόν ἄνδρα γενναῖον θανεῖν
διοσδότοις σκήπτροισι τιμαλφούμενον
καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς γυναικός.

² *Choephori*, 354-357.

a friend welcomed by those who died well, and welcomed as a king though as king he had decreed his daughter's death.

And behind his sin, to shadow it lies that of Helen, the true destroyer of the many, the very many lives of men,¹ half-sister of the second destroyer, the famous and fatal deviser, the murderess-queen, the embodied *ἄτη*. After all that dark questioning of right and wrong, those unresolved antitheses, faithful to our human life, which is a battle of counter-claims, the summary clearance is effected in the highest court, without denial of opposing arguments, by the assertion of a major right and supremacy

ἐμὸν τόδ' ἔργον (says Athena) λοισθίαν κρίναι
δίκην·

ψῆφον δ' Ὀρέστη τήνδ' ἐγὼ προσθήσομαι·
μήτηρ γὰρ οὔτις ἐστὶν ἢ μ' ἐγείνατο
τὸ δ' ἄρσεν αἰνῶ πάντα, πλὴν γάμου τυχεῖν,

¹ *Agamemnon*, 1448-1457 :

φεῦ δαμέντος
φύλακος εὐμενεστάτου
πολλὰ τλάντος γυναικὸς διαί·
πρὸς γυναικὸς δ' ἀπέφθισεν βίον.
ὦ ὦ παράνοους Ἑλένα
μία τὰς πολλὰς, τὰς πάνυ πολλὰς
ψυχὰς ὀλέσας ὑπὸ Τροίᾳ.

ἅπαντι θυμῷ, κάρτα δ' εἰμὶ τοῦ πατρός.
οὕτω γυναικὸς οὐ προτιμήσω μόρον
ἄνδρα κτανούσης δωμάτων ἐπίσκοπον·
νικᾷ δ' Ὀρέστης καὶν ἰσόψηθος κριθῇ,¹

which verdict we may take as true to the Greek conception of nobleness, and as a deadly thrust against the modern perversion of the meaning of virtue.

¹ *Eumenides*, 734 sq.

V

THE SEVERITY OF APOLLO

THERE is unhappiness, injustice, pain in the world. If near to us, we sympathize and help, and, if we are imaginative and careful, it is always near to our thoughts. This money that we spend, could it not be given to rescue the distressed? This work which we do, could it not be better chosen—chosen for their benefit? There are untended children crying while we work. If we have not found them, they cry none the less; we could find them and they would cry less. We hear them crying, though we do not find them. We hear them while we work, and our work is more distant than ourselves from their cry. To do it we have shut the door. There is something cruel in that shutting of the door whenever we come in for the night. It

holds fast and makes no answer, whoever passes by. It asserts property, independence, isolation, and we turn to our work and question it. Is it necessary that this ode shall be rightly understood ; that this music shall be properly played ; that this point of ancient history or of Greek grammar shall be verified ; that we make no mistake in the attribution of a Madonna ? Every one of these occupations may increase our humanity or that of others—may be a blessing, probably not directly to the poor, though perhaps to the distressed in the end ; but the end is far off, and the distress continues unrelieved ; and we might relieve it.

Or our attention is given to that which is more human, to education, to the family ; but the family begins with injustice, and training is apportioned accordingly ; for we love our own flesh ; we would advance our children ; it is not a matter of merit ; other children may be better worth educating ; we are on the look-out for the advantage of ours. Or our training may be given to the children of others, to those whose parents can secure them advantage ; unto him that hath shall be given ; the

husband loves the wife and the wife the husband ; each stands for the other ; yet the origin of that affection, now gone into the blood and bone, may be casual, or not according to the excellence ; and its persistence may depend on the character of him or her who gives love and not on the merit of him or her to whom the love is given. So in marriage we have a curtained and bastioned injustice which is so strong that law builds upon it ; and, to establish it, to marry, you set up a house, and settle funds for its maintenance, and close the door. The union of man and woman is doubly the reason why the children cry : else they had not existed ; else you would have had money to relieve them ; so that, if you attend to the arts, you neglect distress, and, if you attend to the human, you neglect the arts, and distress, and justice. Nor is distress likely to depart, whatever checks, preventive or positive,¹ may be adopted. One cause of distress will be succeeded by another. It is like the question which vexed our grandfathers : how they should

¹ The Greeks had a positive check in the exposure of children ; yet who doubts that they had distress ?

do their daily task with the danger of eternal damnation impending over their neighbours. The submerged have fulfilled the prophecy of Jesus : they have been always with us.

The answer is usually given by necessity, the necessity of work for a living, of work to avoid distress, or to provide for children, one deep calling another in a monotonous sea. But this work itself, why does it earn our living? A consummate performer on the harp, an authority on illuminated manuscripts, an accurate type-setter, a palmary porcelain painter, have reason for the excellences, reason for their practice and for their regard of minutiae, reason for the closed door and for disregard of need : it is the sea that would otherwise overwhelm them. It is not only the rich, cultivating the refinements of life, who turn a deaf ear, but likewise every conscientious worker during the hours of work. Whatever your work, it is the same. You cannot do a good carpenter's job unless you forget, or at least permit, distress. The difference is only that the rich are not, like the others, bound by necessity to supply a demand. The demand is not sure to be wise. To be a good work-

man, to make an honest livelihood, to deliver the best handiwork may be creditable, but your responsibility ends there, and does not include a warrant that what you have done was most needed ; witness the " meditative skipper " of Plato.¹

You are a master workman ; you are not master of the order which you execute. That order, imperative by reason of your necessity or your children, may have come from the caprice of fashion, or from an ill judgment pronounced by erratic circumstances and conditions of the day. If the support of your family is your end, it should be a means² ; if it is a means, it is only

¹ W. H. Thompson's note on Plato's *Gorgias*, 512 A.

² C. W. Eliot, *The Happy Life*. " From the love of nature we turn to family love. The domestic affections are the principal source of human happiness and well-being. The mutual loves of husband and wife, of parents and children, of brothers and sisters, are not only the chief sources of happiness, but the chief springs of action, and the chief safeguard from evil. The young man and the young woman work and save, in order that they may be married and have a home of their own ; once married, they work and save, that they may bring up well a family. The supreme object of the struggling and striving of most men is the family. One might almost say that the security and elevation of the family and of family life are the prime objects of civilization,

a means to supply demand. That choice which the rich make may be wiser and worthier, and, if it is thought that the State should make the choice, the State must have the advice of those who are in the position of the rich, that is to say, the position of those who may consider, so to speak, by experience, aided by all opportunities and bound to no conclusion, irresponsible till a reason emerges from the facts, determining because undetermined.

and the ultimate ends of all industry and trade. These supreme enjoyments of the normal, natural life—the domestic joys—are woman's more than man's ; because his function of bread-winning necessarily separates him from his home during a good part of his time." He is, then, separated by demand from what is in most cases his supreme object and is also well-nigh the prime object of civilization. We are reminded that Nietzsche considered instruction and civilization to be democratic aspirations, but Kultur, a strenuous discipline and culture of the man, to be aristocratic ; also that speaking of marriage he said (*Genealogie der Moral*) "perhaps our trees do not grow so high for the ivy and vine that cling to them." St. Paul's fear of marriage springs from his desire that man and woman may "attend upon the Lord without distraction." It would be illegitimate to apply his words without reserve to modern marriage ; but it can be said that, if we are to stand by them, we must make it a means and not so nearly an end as it is thought by the President of Harvard University.

Are these in their brooding to be blamed for the closed door? And, if they open it, shall it be because they, of all men, determine to avoid perfection in music, in knowledge, and, escaping demand, devote themselves to distress and so embark on the sea with the others, at the mercy of the elemental affections? ¹

If so, whence is the worthy demand to come, or is there none but distress? And, if it is distress, the offspring of the family, is not the family again an end—an end of perfection? Or is that perfection to come only when there is an unreasoned demand for it—as when people crowd to hear a violinist because they like good music, whereas at home it would be frivolous for them to practise the fiddle, while distress continues unrelieved? If they could be aware, like God, of all that takes place—

¹ Friedrich Nietzsche, *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft*, 338. "Wie ist es nur möglich, auf *seinem* Wege zu bleiben! Fortwährend ruft uns irgend ein Geschrei seitwärts; unser Auge sieht da seiten Etwas, wobei es nicht nöthig wird, augenblicklich unsre eigne Sache zu lassen und zuzuspringen. Ich weiss es: es giebt hundert anständige und rühmliche Arten, um mich *von meinem Wege* zu verlieren, und wahrlich höchst 'moralische' Arten!"

if to their imagination all were alike present, so that in immediacy there should be no urgency, but past, present, and future one to the human soul, which would then be a human soul indeed and would draw from unextinguished regret for past suffering a motive to relieve present suffering and to guard against future suffering, then every perfection would need some heartlessness, even that music which most teaches tenderness. And if there is some nobleness, whether accomplished and perpetuated by means of the family, or at the cost of the family, or subverted by the family, accomplished by injustice, or subverted by the human, if there are standards which remain as they were, indifferent to the sufferings by which they have been attained and to the sufferings of those who have failed to attain them,¹ we must ask ourselves whether

¹ Henry James, *The Princess Casamassima*, Chapter xxx. *ad fin.* "Want and toil and suffering are the constant lot of the immense majority of the human race. I have found them everywhere, but I haven't minded them. Excuse the cynical confession. What has struck me is the great achievements of which man has been capable in spite of them—the splendid accumulations of the happier few, to which, doubtless, the miserable may have

attainment is or is not moral, and, if it is moral, we must regard it as in some sort a test of morals, a Greek test, an Apollonian test ; and then we may submit to the severe, unfaltering requisitions of the noble tearing us from humanity, and see why the ideal god, Apollo, to whom all imperfection is meaningless, has never the needs of the world at heart, except that one need, if it is a need, of perfection, why he lives apart “ a bitter god to follow, a beautiful god

in their degree contributed, the monuments and treasures of art, the great palaces and properties, the conquests of learning and taste, the general fabric of civilisation as we know it, based, if you will, upon all the despotisms, the cruelties, the exclusions, the monopolies and the rapacities of the past.”

George Gissing, by Frank Swinnerton. “ Apologists in plenty have been found in the past for Gissing, who have been led to suggest that we ought to deal very leniently with his work because he suffered. The importance or unimportance of his work as literature or as art is something quite apart from his sufferings. The critic’s business is to assay the work.”

Medea would judge by suffering not by the work. Eur., *Med.*, 248 :

λέγουσι δ’ ἡμᾶς ὥς ἀκίνδυνον βίον
ζῶμεν κατ’ οἴκους, οἱ δὲ μάρνανται δορί,
κακῶς φρονοῦντες· ὥς τρις ἂν παρ’ ἀσπίδα
στῆναι θέλοιμ’ ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ τεκεῖν ἅπαξ.

to behold,"¹ and we may find in his rule a loved formula of that duty of man which is not love. Finally, if we think that the noble is rather male than female ; that the family is to be tested by the noble, by τὸν πονοῦντ' ἔξω ; that all accomplishment must begin generations before it shows, as we breed horses ; and, further, that, to secure this accomplishment, it is worth while to allow the cost of the fruitless² generations which intervene between hero and hero,—to constitute a class because we need the pick of a class ; then we believe the Pindaric creed, and have in that creed a justification of the now more patent injustice of the family ; we have found for a partial and human affection an impartial and noble defence ; out of the eater hath come forth meat. Whatever the means, we test it by

¹ Swinburne, *Hymn to Proserpine*.

² Pindar, *Nem.*, xi. 39-43 :

ἀρχαῖαι δ' ἀρεταί

ἀμφέροντ' ἀλλασσόμεναι γενεαῖς ἀνδρῶν σθένος·
 ἐν σχερῶ δ' οὔτ' ὦν μέλαιναί καρπὸν ἔδωκαν ἄρουραι,
 δένδρεά τ' οὐκ ἐθέλει πάσαις ἐτέων περόδοις
 ἄνθος εὐῶδες φέρειν πλούτῳ φίσον,
 ἀλλ' ἐν ἀμείβοντι· καὶ θνατὸν οὕτως ἔθνος ἄγει μοῖρα.

the end ; we are willing to accept injustice ¹ and suffering, so we attain the end ; and the family becomes to us, as to the Greeks, honourable because it sends forth men, as Apollo sent forth Ion.

¹ Plutarch, *Instituta Laconica*, 239 A. ταῖς εὐχαῖς προστιθέασι τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι δύνασθαι.

VI

THE PARDON OF APOLLO

THEREFORE the award of Apollo, that merciless and merciful judgment of the destroyer and healer, delivered according to success and manhood, is not a canon of general perfection, but the laud and ratification of a singular achievement and of a noble power and inheritance. The principle whereby the king who has proved himself a man is well-nigh deified despite his faults and whereby faith is placed in the heir of his blood exceeds by definition those morals which admit no more praise than an individual may merit by his own will, without drawing on his constitution, or in his own life, without drawing on his inheritance, and passes over failings which are often considered to touch morals more nearly than they are touched by his mere constitution and inheritance.

Apollo, the eternal youth, appeals to his father, Zeus, who gives no reason save his own profound determination and desire, and Athena gives as her reason that she proceeds wholly from the same father.

Humanly speaking, this is an appeal to manhood, and reliance on manhood, not on a rule of human righteousness ; it is a canonization of the noble, not what is usually called a moral code. Imperfection which has done some perfect work appeals through Apollo, the patron of this perfection, to the generative and undiscoverable ; the desire that nobleness, despite its sins, shall rule appeals to a personal ruler whose sinlessness is far from evident. The king of kings may do wrong, and we are not certain that the king of gods will do right ; but wrong and right are better from the masculine, the evil less evil, the good more good, because they bear the mark of kind. If God is but the apotheosis of man, and Zeus and Agamemnon one, then the measure of justice is himself. From him justice has proceeded and appeal lies from justice to him and not from him to justice. This is right ; it is the ante-natal genesis of right ; for in

the god-like man, or in the man-like god, is to be found (strange though it be to say) the justification of justice ; in the fatherhood is the authority. This authority is an unknown, underlying the *δίκη* which it produces, the mystery of a nature indeterminate and whole bringing forth a determinate form dictated by no criterion but the resultant of his own forces which becomes a criterion. Here is room for ethical creation, for some adjudication between warring men or warring gods which may overturn *δίκαν τὰν πρόσθεν*.¹ And perfect deference to virtue, to the potency of action and thought and love, must be deference to that darkness, not a confident trust in what can be defined. This reverence must be indulgent and patient, because it can only rest on the human.

It is well for us that it is so. If we seek a stay beyond man, we lose our appreciation of man ; if we will not entrust ourselves to a danger, but must court a recessive certainty, we have not known that all is danger nor fully admitted our need of man, and

¹ Pindar, *Nem.*, ix. 15. κρέσσων δὲ καππαύει δίκαν τὰν πρόσθεν ἀνὴρ.

we shall not make man as great as our need because of the greater on whom we rely. With this reliance there would indeed be no necessary man ; for goodness then rests with the creator ; it is not man's creation, his constant effort, his victory. To secure him strength for this victory, give him a shadowy sky and a doubtful end—and pardon.

VII

APOLLO VERSUS ΔΙΚΑ

A SHADOWY sky and a doubtful end? What else had Orestes? And what but this doctrine of the origination of justice explains his defence by Apollo? When the court had been constituted, Apollo delivered a warning which has been taken as nothing less than a threat to the judges :

λέξω πρὸς ὑμᾶς τόνδ' Ἀθηναίᾳς μέγαν
 θεσμόν δικαίως, μάντις ὧν οὐ ψεύδομαι.
 οὐπώποτ' εἶπον μαντικοῖσιν ἐν θρόνοις,
 οὐκ ἀνδρὸς, οὐ γυναικός, οὐ πόλεως πέρι,
 ὃ μὴ κελεύσαι Ζεὺς Ὀλυμπίων πατήρ.
 τὸ μὲν δίκαιον τοῦθ' ὅσον σθένει μαθεῖν,
 βουλῇ πιφαύσκω δ' ὑμῖν ἐπισπένθαι πατρός.
 Ὅρκος γὰρ οὔτι Ζηνὸς ἰσχύει πλέον.¹

“ Reck not of your oath, but fear the vengeance of Zeus, who is mightier than the

¹ Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 614.

god of oaths. This is the justice which I proclaim, and to him is my allegiance." Could there be a more direct contravention of an overruling δίκη? ¹ And is it not confirmed by the procedure of Apollo when, to rescue the later wife of his virginal love, Admetus, he outwitted the most ancient Parcae, making them drunk? To him naught mattered but the highest. His ὀρθοὶ κανόνες are those of the father of men, severe indeed, and reckless in their severity, but it is not the severity of the Moirai. Their mandates, abstract laws determining the provinces within which not only the other gods but Zeus himself must act, meant nothing to him. Their νόμοι were not his νόμοι. He could override ὄρκος himself unless confirmed by the deadly adjuration of Styx. He appeals against the lesser god to the greater, from the impersonal rules to the personal ruler, to an autocracy in heaven from the earthly guardians of conscience. The same disregard of rules runs through his pleading that the son is not related to his mother.

¹ Unless that instanced in Jonah where God violates his oath.

Doubtless, as among the Colchians dead men were suspended in air and women laid under the ground, so dust returned unto dust and the spirit to its Uranian source, yet not for this should that ancient reverence which extolled motherhood and Γῆ, the mother of all,¹ be held of no account.² In substance he is right, but argument to him does not matter. His authority is not a reason but the blood of a father ; he can flout justice with negligence ; he can crown achievement and admit failure.

¹ In Aristotle only the upper heaven and the earth are fixed (*De Caelo*).

² Apoll. Rhod., iii. 200 :

Κιρκαῖον τόδε που κικλήσκειται· ἔνθα δὲ πολλὰι
ἐξείης πρόμαλοί τε καὶ ἱτέαι ἐκπεφύασιν,
τῶν καὶ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτων νέκυες σειρῇσι κρέμανται
δέσμιοι. εἰσέτι νῦν γὰρ ἄγος Κόλχοισιν ὄρων
ἀνέρας οἰχομένους πυρὶ καίεμεν οὐδ' ἐνὶ γαίῃ
ἔστι θέμις στείλαντος ὑπερθ' ἐπὶ σῆμα χέεσθαι
ἄλλ' ἐν ἀδεψήτοισι κατειλύσαντε βοείας
δενδρέων ἐξάπτειν ἕκας ἄστρος. ἡέρι δ' ἴσῃν
καὶ χθὼν ἔμμορεν αἶσαν, ἐπεὶ χθονὶ ταρχύουσιν
θηλυτέρας· ἡ γάρ τε δίκη θεσμοῖο τέτυκται.

To this the Scholiast adds the important statement :

σέβονται δὲ μάλιστα Οὐρανὸν καὶ Γῆν.

VIII

DANGER

IN this admission of failure there is danger. Danger is inherent in the system whereby the hero is exalted; not only in the treatment of women but at every point is ὕβρις imminent. Θυμός is in the blood of ἀγνηνορίη,¹ and originates a φιλοτιμία good or bad. At times we do not know whether to write φιλόνικος or φιλόνεικος.²

¹ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, iii. 8, 11, οἱ μὲν ἀνδρεῖοι διὰ τὸ καλὸν πράττουσιν, ὁ δὲ θυμὸς συνέργει αὐτοῖς, and iii. 8, 12, φυσικωτάτη δ' εἰσιν ἢ διὰ τὸν θυμὸν (ἀνδρεία) εἶναι, καὶ προσλαβοῦσα προαίρεσιν καὶ τὸ οὐ ἔνεκα ἀνδρεία εἶναι.

Plato, *Republic*, 375 A. ἀνδρεῖος δὲ εἶναι ἄρα ἐθελήσει ὁ μὴ θυμοειδὴς εἴτε ἵππος εἴτε κύων ἢ ἄλλο ὁτιοῦν ζῷον.

² Liddell and Scott, s.v. φιλόνεικος. In the *Iphigenia at Aulis* the problem first posed seems to be vaguely the justification of the demands of τὸ φιλότιμον (16-23). In the end it is decided that, although such a motive does not justify the sacrifice of another, yet κλέος is a

Polynices assails his mother-land ; Capaneus is driven against the lightnings of Pallas ; Salmoneus would rival Jove. Hence the perpetual warnings to reverence the gods. Manhood, unattacked, tends to attack all else, *μὴ ματεύσῃ θεὸς γενέσθαι*,¹ a needless caution, if the road was not open to mad ambitions,—if the spur had not been such as to demand a curb. Lysander was to break it and, despite treachery and *ὑβρις*, to be acclaimed as a god in his lifetime. Lines were not sharply drawn, neither the line of morality nor the line of divinity ; and success counted too much. In a Greek town a man could acquire predominance over his fellows, and, backed by the town, he could obtain control over other towns, reach an hegemony of the small mainland of good motive for the sacrifice of self, if one chooses. The agonistic or Uranian principle appears in *bravura* (1375-1401, especially 1394) :

εἷς γ' ἀνὴρ κρείστων γυναικῶν μυρίων ὄρᾱν φάος.

Only, since Euripides is not really interested in the problem, if indeed he intended to pose it, of τὸ φιλότιμον, Hellas appears in its stead. The notion of government, or of the policy of the government, is lost in the notion of the country ; a democratic sanction covers the rulers.

¹ Pindar, *Olymp.*, v., last line.

Hellas, lord it over the isles and threaten the barbarian.¹ What else had the heroes, his ancestors, done? What else was worthy of a man?

And if he failed——?

¹ Diodorus Siculus, xv. 60. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Ἰάσων ὁ Φερῶν τύραννος, συνέσει καὶ στρατηγικῇ διαφέρων καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν περιοίκων εἰς συμμαχίαν προσαγαγόμενος ἔπεισε τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας, ταύτην γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐπαθλον ἀρετῆς προκεῖσθαι τοῖς δυναμένοις αὐτῆς ἀμφισβητῆσαι.

IX

POLYTHEISM

SO long as the ancient theology held, there was analogy to human failure in the conduct of the gods, and in the multiplicity of gods: there was in the pantheon itself a resistance to *δίκη*. We are considering (it must be remembered) the creed of the people, not that of theorists who wrote down their ideas and had them copied on rolls.

Let us define religion somewhat rigorously, and say that its essence is an influence exerted by human beings over unseen powers. This has nothing to do with morality. At some shrine, by making certain sacrifices, or by performing certain devotions, a mortal will obtain the backing of a god. This belief, in default of much instruction scattered abroad, was bound to survive. In its lower forms it is superstition allied

to magic ; in its higher forms, religion as Europeans now know religion ; in a high, and perhaps rather Protestant, acceptation, it narrows to pure religion breathing household laws.¹ The difference is according to the amount and kind of morality in the religion ; but, when morality presses into it and pervades it so that it becomes a mere recognition of divine law, without influence on the divinity, then it is law and not divine,² pure morality and not religion, though it may, in the Roman sense, be pious, involving tender reverence, loyalty, and honour.

Throughout Greek antiquity the notion of an influence that could secure the co-operation of the gods was steadily held by the people. But these gods, as Clement³ could easily show, were not perfect. They were personal ; they were almost human. We find rhetorical appeals to them as examples to justify some deed of man thought wrong. Whatever sins the great or the small might commit found their analogy on Olympus.

¹ Wordsworth, sonnet, "O Friend ! I know not," written in London, September 1802.

² Faguet.

³ Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protrepticon*.

To justify the Olympians was no slight—it was an impossible task ; and their favour would not always be denied to those who, like themselves, needed justification.

But further the fact that they were many and not one fostered such defences and excuses. For they fell out with one another.¹ Devotion to Artemis, according to Euripides, could bring down the vengeance of Aphrodite. As the hero, with his failures, could be god-like (Paris was god-like), so human life, or the life of one man, could be a conflict of divine contraries, a battle-ground of the gods, wherein is conquest and failure. The ethics naturally resultant would be such as should justify men in their diversity and variety, and would constitute at most types, not a standard.

¹ For the conflict of virtues cf. Plato, *Politicus*, 306 b. *sqq.*

X

ZEUS AND ΔΙΚΑ

ACCORDINGLY the traditional examples and incitements to virtue did not satisfy thinkers bent on discovering the one in the many. This allegiance to great men and to their patrons in heaven was found too human. The failures which had been accepted became reproofs. The quarrels became antinomies. The whole system was subjected to reform. Pindar corrects myths; Plato rejects them. Zeus was reformed, and the substance began to pass from him. There should be obedience to laws in law-givers. A consistent theory would not contain antinomies; a righteous rule would not permit scandals.

The reform was a remove. God became more abstract, or became subject to some-

thing more abstract than himself, which was tending to dominate the gods :

ἔθιγε δ' ἐν μάχῃ χερὸς ἐτήτυμος
Διὸς κόρα, Δίκαν δέ νιν
προσαγορεύομεν
βροτοὶ τυχόντες καλῶς

κρατεῖται δέ πως τὸ θεῖον τὸ μὴ
ὑπουργεῖν κακοῖς¹

“The divinity is in some way overcome so as not to bring aid to evildoers.”

Thus the author of Prometheus ; then (ἐπεὶ τό γε λοιδορῆσαι θεοὺς ἐχθρὰ σοφία)² in an access of reverence (μείων γὰρ αἰτία)³ θέμις δ' οὐρανοῦχον ἀρχὰν σέβειν.

Pindar had not reached this crucial contradiction. Neither in heaven nor on earth do the antinomies which he recognizes distress him beyond measure. He is not searching for the general, for the one, nor even for a combination, and is indifferent to a disseminated interest in a general culture, preferring to it a preclusion or decision, and the man who puts his foot

¹ *Choephoroi*, 948, 957. The reading is disputed.

² Pindar, *Olymp.*, ix. 37.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 35.

down. He speaks indeed in complimentary language of Hieron as

δρέπων κορυφὰς ἀρετᾶν ἀπὸ πασᾶν ¹

but a man's action at the right moment is nevertheless the supreme test

ὁ δὲ καιρὸς ὁμοίως παντὸς ἔχει κορυφάν ²

and of those who would by study find out all virtues he says :

ὅς δὲ διδάκτ' ἔχει, ψεφεννὸς ἀνὴρ
ἄλλοτ' ἄλλα πνέων οὔ ποτ' ἀτρεκεῖ
κατέβα ποδί μυριᾶν δ' ἀρετᾶν ἀτελεῖ νόῳ γεύεται, ³

and this in the same ode and in the same strophe in which he defines justice

ἔπεται δὲ λόγῳ δίκας
ἄωτος " ἐσλὸν αἰνεῖν."

The flower of justice is to praise the excellent. This theory is made plain in another place.

τιμαὶ

δὲ βροτοῖσι κεκριμέναι
παντὶ δ' ἐπὶ φθόνος ἀνδρὶ κεῖται
ἀρετᾶς· ὁ δὲ μηδὲν ἔχων ὑπὸ σι-
γῇ μελαίνῃ κάρῃ κέκρυπται.

¹ Pindar, *Olymp.*, i. 13.

² *Ibid.*, *Pyth.*, ix. 78.

³ *Ibid.*, *Nem.*, iii. 41.

Here we have the aristocratical theory, the love of descent, the Apollonian disregard of the μηδὲν ἔχων conjoined with belief in diverse offices and functions, and we may assume that, as men from gods, so the τιμαὶ are separated from each other by κεκριμέναι δυνάμεις,¹ each δύναμις having its ἀρετά, or excellence. We hear much of these ἀρεταί in Pindar—of a general human ἀρετά little or more probably nothing. The κεκριμένα δύναμις itself was not to be assumed in humanity. He who does not possess it is, like man in comparison with gods, οὐδέν. There is indeed, if not a general, at least a principal virtue, ἀνδρεία to be found in the ἀγαθοὶ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν.² φύα τὸ γενναῖον ἐπιπρέπει ἐκ πατέρων παισὶ λῆμα.³ But ἀνδρεία is not

¹ *Nem.*, vi. 2.

² In Plato's *Phaedrus*, 246 B, the horse which represents θυμός is καλός τε καὶ ἀγαθός καὶ ἐκ τοιούτων and in Horace, *Carm.*, iv. 4 :

Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis ; i.e. ἐκ καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν

Est in iuuenis, est in equis patrum

Virtus, neque imbellem feroces

Progenerant aquilae columbam.

³ Pindar, *Pyth.*, viii. 44. Cf. *Nem.*, i. 56 :

εἶδε γὰρ ἐκνόμιον
λῆμά τε καὶ δύναμιν
υἱοῦ.

the whole, though it may have been in Pindar's thought three-quarters of man. He remembered always the Muses and *Χάρις ἅπερ ἅπαντα τεύχει τὰ μείλιχα θνατοῖς*.¹ Likewise does he do all honour to the *σοφία*, but of a general *σοφία* outstripping prudence he has doubt.² There is no attempt to reconcile all in one, and, unreconciled, the *ἀρετά*, which in general are not virtues, but efforts and deeds, will come, so far as we can see, into conflict, though from this Pindar would turn away his eyes as from the conflicts of immortal gods.³

There is in fact in the theory of excellences or functions, admirable in themselves but

The *δύναμις* came to Heracles from the *σπέρμ' ἀδείμαντον* of Zeus (*Nem.*, x.) *ἐπ. α*.

¹ *Olymp.*, i. 31. Bury thinks that he mentions *χάρις* in every ode.

² Fragment 61 :

τί φέλπεαι σοφίαν ἔμμεν, ἄν ὀλίγον τοι
ἀνὴρ ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἰσχύει;
οὐ γάρ ἔσθ' ὅπως τὰ θεῶν βου-
λεύματ' ἐρευνάσει βροτέα φρενί·
θνατᾶς δ' ἀπὸ ματρὸς ἔφυ.

And Fragment 209 :

τοὺς φυσιολογοῦντας ἔφη Πίνδαρος
ἀτελῇ σοφίας καρπὸν δρέπ(ειν).

³ *Olymp.*, ix. 35.

unco-ordinated, a principle of disorder, which, if order, and not the admirable, is our aim, must pass under one supreme control. The contentions of the forces must be solved at the risk that the forces shall be dissolved. The excuse for failure so natural when we judge by success that covers it without annulling it, cannot hold, if our first requisition is not a success in some separate virtue or function, but an order within which the virtues and functions must have their being. Before philosophy broke into religion the last appeal could only lie to a principal virtue or to a principal¹ god and this is the process of the Orestia—to Zeus as the highest judge, to Agamemnon's great enterprise and success as meriting a favourable judgment, which in this case would be vengeance on his wife and restitution of monarchy to his son. That the argument might not merely concern divine right, *διόσδοτος ἀρχά*, the moral value of the enterprise must be assumed, but this assumption under the old standard, the martial code of the early Greeks, and particularly of the Dorians, was axiomatic. Enterprise,

¹ *Olymp.*, vii. ὅτε χθόνα δατέοντο Ζεὺς τε καὶ ἄθάνατοι.

favoured by the gods with success, did not come into court to justify itself.¹

How should this doctrine be discredited? By depriving the hero of that substance which should atone for accidents,—by exhibiting his faults without his virtues.

This we find in the unbelieving Euripides, whose arguments often do not hold together because he can believe in no argument or example of ancient faith.² His Jason, the holy Jason³ of Pindar, coming, like Orestes,

¹ The sanction of an enterprise was the omens which were taken before it; hence Pindar's condemnation αἰσιᾶν οὐ κατ' ὀρνίχων ὁδόν (*Nem.*, ix. 18). Favourable omens meant "go forth to conquer," the prospect of success being in some sort a divine exhortation.

² Professor Gilbert Murray, *History of Greek Literature*, Chapter xii., "Euripides." "The significant fact is that, like Ibsen, Euripides refuses to idealise any man, and does idealise women. As a thinker, Euripides was from the outset out of sympathy with the material in which he had to work. He did not believe in the saga, he did not quite admire or like it; but he had to make his plays out of it."

³ Pindar, *Pyth.*, iv. 102:

Φαμί διδασκαλίαν Χει-
ρωνος οἴσειν· ἀντρόθε γὰρ νέομαι
πὰρ Χαρίκλοῦς καὶ Φιλύρας, ἵνα Κενταύρου με Κοῦραι
θρέψαν ἀγναί
εἵκοσι δ' ἐκτελέσαις ἐνιαυτοὺς οὔτε φέρων

to claim his father's inheritance, that boy¹ already able, like the later Agamemnon, to lead the sons of gods against Asia, has, on his return, become a mere adventurer, plotting to establish himself by marriage in a kingdom not his own, and cannot justify himself by that relic of an ancient argument

ἀλλ' εἰς τοσοῦτον ἦκεθ' ὥστ' ὀρθομένης
εὐνῆς γυναῖκες πάντ' ἔχειν νομίζετε²

because he is not deserting Medea for the assertion of his own nobility and rightful task. His is the old motive in collapse, or in shadow.

And how could the ethical impulse toward

οὐτ' ἔπος ἐκτράπελον κείνοισιν εἰπὼν ἰκόμαν
οἰκάδ', ἀρχαίαν κομίζων πατρὸς ἐμοῦ βασιλευομένην
οὐ κατ' αἶσαν, τάν ποτε Ζεὺς ὥπασεν λαγέτα
Αἰόλω καὶ παισὶ τιμάν.

¹ *Pyth.*, iv. 82. οὐδὲ κομᾶν πλόκαμοι καρθέντες φχοντ' ἀγλαοί, ἀλλ' ἅπαν νῶτον καταίθυσσον is said to refer to the long hair of Homeric antiquity, and Jason was older by a year or so than Orestes, but he was a boy for his undertaking and for his following.

² Euripides, *Medea*, 569-570. Orestes (Aeschylus, *Choeph.*, 905) had told Clytaemestra that a man's province being larger, his liberty must be larger: Jason contends that women restrict men to a smaller province.

the ἀριστεία of valour be undone? By disparaging the motive power, the θυμός which lay behind its justification, by substituting ἐπιείκεια for ἀγανορία.

Pindar's ideal was φιλόνικος and φιλότιμος (in a good sense). He is met by Plato.¹

περὶ τὸ θυμοειδὲς οὐχ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι; ὅς ἂν τοῦτο (scilicet τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦ θυμοειδοῦς) διαπράττηται ἢ φθόνῳ διὰ φιλοτιμίαν ἢ βίᾳ διὰ φιλονικίαν ἢ θυμῷ διὰ δυσκολίαν πράττειν.

The words are to be closely considered. The θυμοειδής is moved (1) by φθόνος; but Pindar's idea of φθόνος was not that it accompanied a high spirit but detraction of τὰ καλὰ Φέργα²; (2) by φιλοτιμία,³ in the bad sense: contrast, in Pindar, Cleander⁴ and his connexion through the κλέα ἀνδρῶν with Achilles; (3) or by βία, a word which

¹ *Rep.*, 555 C.

² *Pyth.*, vii. 19.

³ Pindar uses the word φιλοτιμία only once (never the adjective) and in a bad sense, but with ἄγαν to indicate that sense: his thought is of civic strife (Fragment, 210).

ἄγαν φιλοτιμίαν
μνώμενοι ἐν πολίεσσιν ἄνδρες
ἢ στάσιν, ἄλγος ἐμφανές.

⁴ *Isthm.*, viii.

condemns the Pindaric praise of the comrade of Achilles for his βιάτας νόος¹ (4) through φιλονικία, which needs no instance from the ἐπινίκια, (5) or θυμός, cf. Medea's address,

κέκλυτε παῖδες ὑπερθύμων τε φωτῶν καὶ θεῶν.²

(6) or δυσκολία, because he is ill-natured.

θυμός³ is to Plato what Heracles was to Syleus, a dreaded slave ; and his philosophy endeavours to reduce ἀνδρεία to an intellectual perception of what is dreadful and what is not ; but the radical question before us

¹ πάτροκλος means " inheriting nobility from his father " (*Olymp.*, ix. 75).

² *Pyth.*, iv. 13.

³ Rumpel's *Lexicon Pindaricum* gives thirty-four instances of θυμός in Pindar :

1. Vis ac sedes sentiendi	.	.	.	17
2. Appetitus :				
(a) Animus constans, fortitudo	.	.	.	6
(b) ira	.	.	.	1
(c) voluntas	.	.	.	2
3. Vis cogitandi	.	.	.	8
				—
				34

In the instances of " Animus constans," the meaning is indicated by the context even, according to Rumpel, in *Isthmian*, vi. 48.

is greater : Is man the saviour or the peril ? or, if he is both, shall the salvation be accounted worth the peril ? or the peril move us to desert our only leader ? ὁ γὰρ πρῶτος ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ κυριώτατος νόμος τῷ σώζεσθαι δεομένῳ τὸν σώζειν δυνάμενον ἄρχοντα κατὰ φύσιν ἀποδίδωσι.¹

¹ Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, xxiv.

XI

DOUBT IN AESCHYLUS AND FAITH IN PINDAR

BUT we find some doubt of it in Aeschylus, that true Uranian, yet a thinker at odds with life, whereas Pindar, at one with his age, is content to reflect its best ; wherefore his common sense is accused of thoughtlessness.

Not as the foolish nurse of Euripides wished that there had never been an Argonautic expedition, till then held to be an eternal glory,¹ because, save for it, her

¹ *Odyssey*, xii. 69 :

οἷη δὲ κείνη γε παρέπλω ποντοπόρος νηῦς
'Αργῶ πᾶσι μέλουσα, παρ' Αἰήταο πλέουσα·
καί νύ κε τὴν ἐνθ' ὧκα βάλεν μεγάλας ποτὶ πέτρας.
ἄλλ' Ἥρη παρέπεμψε, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἦεν Ἰήσων

Pindar, *Pyth.*, iv. 68 :

τὸ πάγχρυσον νάκος κριοῦ· μετὰ γὰρ
κεῖνο πλευσάντων Μινυᾶν θεόπομ-
ποὶ σφίσιν τιμαὶ φύτευθεν.

mistress Medea would never have come to grief, an all-important point, but still with some doubts that hover over the Trojan War, the desolation of it, the sacrifice of lives, excess and impiety in the pillage of foreign shrines, disorder at home, the bereaved families receiving a handful of ashes for the man departed—was all this necessary? He seems to doubt it, and not merely for its motive, so inconclusive to a lover of men, the recapture of a worthless bride.¹ His doubt extends almost to heaven. Zeus, if this is the title by which he would be called, the second to put an end to δίκαν τὰν πρόσθεν,² he who oversets all

¹ In Euripides' *Troades*, 864, Menelaos feels the motive to be insufficient and justifies himself:

ἦλθον δὲ Τροίαν οὐχ ὅσον δοκοῦσι με
 γυναικὸς οὐνεκ', ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀνδρ' ὅς ἐξ ἐμῶν
 δόμων δάμαρτα ξεναπάτης ἐλήσατο.

The Trojan elders (*Iliad*, iii. 155) are of a different opinion, but they are Trojan, not Greek, and perhaps their opinion is rather a sigh than an opinion. Herodotus thinks the same.

² Pindar, *Nem.*, ix. 15:

κρέσσων δὲ καππαύει δίκαν τὰν πρόσθεν ἀνὴρ.

Cf. Aesch., *Euemenides*, 640:

αὐτὸς δ' ἔδησε πατέρα πρεσβύτην Κρόνον.

things,¹ who had tortured the ally by whom he obtained his throne, was this a god on whom Aeschylus could rely? At least beside him he places a δίκη which naught can overturn, whose root is sure, so firm is it planted.² Though he looks for failure in him who was worthy of all reverence, not having failed in his great task στρατείας οὐδὲν ἡμπλακηκότα—τοῦ παντοσέμνου τοῦ στρατηλάτου νεῶν,³ in him who was to rule even after death, a king among the shades, yet he would find some unfailing stay, beyond man, and well-nigh beyond god, a rule righteous and absolute. In this he overleaps idolatry of the masculine; he overleaps fact.⁴

¹ Aesch., *Eumenides*, 650 :

τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω
στρέφων τίθησιν οὐδὲν ἀσθμαίνων μένει.

² *Ibid.*, *Choeph.*, 646 :

Δίκας δ' ἐρείδεται πυθμὴν.

³ *Ibid.*, *Eumenides*, 634, as amended by Tucker and 640.

⁴ Walter Headlam, "*Agamemnon*" of *Aeschylus*, "Introduction, Moral and Religious Ideas." "It is the devout assertion of the second law" (that a "Power" interferes to punish the successful sinner) "which is the test of a truly religious mind, inasmuch as it appears to conflict with the evident facts of life."

Pindar had told us that Heracles, the arch-saint, must temper his conquests by some reverses, ἐπεὶ ῥέζοντά τι καὶ παθεῖν ἔοικεν¹; we must suffer for our virtues: which is true. Aeschylus has also his δράσαντι παθεῖν,² but it is "the soul that sinneth it shall die," and therewith we face an absolute beyond Pindar's world and beyond Zeus, since he may not control it, an absolute which ought to exclude even that inherited curse which is the Aeschylean "Vision of Judgment." Pindar's divine morality was simple. To the Delphic precept, γνῶθι σεαυτόν, he adds his interpretation, οἷας εἰμὲν αἴσας.³ We are

¹ *Nem.*, iv. 32.

² *Choeph.*, 313.

³ Not as a commentary on γνῶθι σεαυτόν. The passage (*Pyth.*, iii. 58) runs:

χρὴ τὰ φοιχότα παρ δαιμόνων μαστεύμεν θαναταῖς
φρασίν

γνόντα τὸ παρ ποδός, οἷας εἰμὲν αἴσας.

Ion gives a wider meaning to the maxim:

τὸ γνῶθι σεαυτόν τοῦτ' ἔπος μὲν οὐ μέγα,
ἔργον δ' ὅσον Ζεὺς μόνος ἐπίσταται θεῶν.

Adam, *The Religious Teachers of Greece*, p. 341: "In the mouth of Socrates the Delphic precept meant nothing more than 'Learn to take the measure of your own

but mortals. Hence *μηδὲν ἄγαν*, no *ὑβρις*, no irreverence. He does, indeed, believe in future retribution, but this belief is not in all his thoughts ; it is not woven into his general and personal morals, but secluded in a few poems¹ ; since, however, he might correct myths with almost Delphic authority, he never regarded his creed as substantially diverse from that of Hellas, and so it took that character which it bears on the funeral *lecythi*, a shadowy faith concerning shades.²

His *memento mori*, ever present to him, is not a reminder of death, judgment, heaven, and hell ; it bears no proportion to the tremendous tenet which hides in the religion of salvation ; it does not reach even the solemnity of an Aeschylean law ; and it is forgotten in the thought of that other immortality to which he more naturally

capacities, proclivities, and powers.' " Plato, *Erastai*, 138 : τὸ δ' ἑαυτὸν ἀγνοεῖν σωφρονεῖν ἐστὶν ἢ μὴ σωφρονεῖν ; μὴ σωφρονεῖν τὸ ἑαυτὸν ἄρα γινώσκειν ἐστὶ σωφρονεῖν ; φημί, ἔφη. τοῦτ' ἄρα, ὥς ἔοικε, καὶ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς γράμμα παρακελεύεται, σωφροσύνην ἀσκεῖν καὶ δικαιοσύνην. ἔοικεν.

¹ Specially *Olymp.*, ii.

² Edmond Pottier, *Étude sur les Lécythes Blancs Attiques*, Chapitre vi.

looked, an immortality of human days¹ or of human memories.² His religion is a sense of our limits, a knowledge of our dependence, not a reliance on heavenly powers nor a provocation of divine judgments. Without the gods we can do nothing, as the sower can do nothing without the clemency of the seasons ; but the gods are variable, now bringing our labour to nought, for jealousy, it may be,³ now scattering a divine light on our ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι. We may count on them for no more than that general prevalence of sun over rain, of help over hindrance, which does in fact secure a reward to labour, and not then unless we have courage to meet more pain than pleasure.

ἐν παρ' ἐσλὸν πῆματα σύνδυο δαίονται βροτοῖς ⁴
 ἀθάνατοι· τὰ μὲν οὖν οὐ δύνανται νήπιοι κόσμῳ
 φέρειν
 ἀλλ' ἀγαθοὶ τὰ καλὰ τρέψαντες ἔξω.

This is true to life, to our life as we know it, and therefore true to the gods who made the life : “ by their works shall ye know

¹ Pindar, *Partheneia*, Fragment 104.

² *Isthmian*, iii. (iv.) 55.

³ *Pyth.*, x. 20.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iii. 81.

them," whereas in Aeschylus we suffer from those unlimited assertions which are the pressure of religious yearning against fact.¹ He is beginning to break through that polytheistic conception of war in heaven which is a faithful mythological rendering of the combat of excellences on earth and of the antinomies of man's nature. He is introducing an infinite one into the multiple diversities of our life and being.

¹ Note 4, p. 89.

XII

COMPETITION AND CO-OPERATION

BUT Pindar also has his approach to the new doctrine. Civilization is a process of agreement, an advance by co-operation. If morals are thought primarily social—that is to say, a surrender of personal preferences to furtherance of common good—then morals advance *pari passu* with civilization. Civilization is conversion of roving interests to nomic life, the life of a πόλις or state of which the rover becomes a law-abiding citizen. By virtue of acceptance of the law he is virtuous.¹ It is replacement of a ruler by a constitution. The constitution, or νόμοι, being supreme over men appointed to rule, these are to have but derivative

¹ Hence Aristotle's idea that a good citizen of a bad state must be bad (*Politics*).

and subordinate powers. The advantage of a city is unity or order, which implies submission :

ἄπολις ᾧ μὲν τὸ μὴ καλὸν ξύνεστι τολμᾶς χάριν.¹

On the other hand, there is a virtue produced by competition, and, if that competition is subject to fair play, yet, within this nomic limit, it is contest and not co-operation.²

¹ Soph., *Antigone*, 370.

² This competitive virtue is set forth by Pindar in *Olymp.*, viii., the ode to Alcimedon (him who rules by might) and Timosthenes (in whom honours and strength unite), both of them from birth under the patronage of Zeus, but reverent of Themis, as befitted the land of Aeacus, the just. Alcimedon—

τύχῃ μὲν δαίμονος ἀνορέας δ' οὐκ ἀμπλακῶν ἐν
τέτρασιν παίδων ἀπεθήκατο γυίοις
νόστον ἔχθιστον καὶ ἀτιμοτέραν γλῶσ-
σαν καὶ ἐπίκρυφον οἶμον,

a homeward path such as is described in the ode (*Pyth.*, viii.) to another victor, Aristomenes (greatest in strength), himself also a citizen of the δικαιοπόλις Αἰακιδᾶν νᾶσος—

τέτρασι δ' ἔμπετες ὑψόθεν
σωμάτεσσι κακὰ φρονέων
τοῖς οὔτε νόστος ὁμῶς
ἐπαλπνος ἐν Πυθιάδι κρίθη
οὔδ' ἐμολόντων παρ' ματέρ' ἀμφὶ γέλως γλυκύς
ᾠρσεν χάριν· κατὰ λαύρας δ' ἐχθρῶν ἀπάοροι
πτώσσουντι, συμφορᾷ δεδαγμένοι.

If we consider the twenty years during which manhood is attained, the labour of mothers and nurses, their mature years given that the child's mature years may be best, and if we add that the victory of the best is not a scramble for pennies, but rests on a just award which implies agreement concerning principles, and further that perfect hostility between men, each single man against the world, which would be competition undiluted by agreement, cannot have been a condition of survival in any age, we shall not fancy association to be wholly nor in the main an emollient and weakener of manhood. As the absence of lets and hindrances¹ forwards health in the body, which otherwise needs purgation, the negative purity passing into positive strength, so the bath of a common justice enables that worth. The celebration of this victory is attended by justice, and the ode begins with the invocation of that daughter of Justice, 'Ησυχία, who has the spirit to throw Ὑβρις overboard into the wash of waters.

The description of the victims in both odes sharply engraves in our minds the severity of competition, while justice attests an award κατ' ἀξίαν.

¹ St. Thomas, *Summa Prima Secundae*, lxxxv., v., Conclusio: "Prout removens prohibens causae nomen sortitur."

which justice acclaims to grow, but not unless it allows competition, the victory of the better man, which brings defeat to the lesser, the victory of the ἀγαθός or valiant, in whom is this value, over the κακός or worser¹ man. The righteous observance of rules which makes a good competitor; the law of the Ἑλλανοδίκαι, which is equal to all: these are the bath of the athlete; they are not his ἀθλα. Pure air is needful, but also meat, which is corruptible; fair dealing, but also great living. The contestant does not desire victory without fair play; but the notion that fair play is all would disgust him of righteousness. He would be a good man in the sense of being good in the contest and able to overcome his opponent; and rules are necessary only as an assurance that he has overcome by his valour and not by any irrelevant means or subterfuge. The struggle itself, this is the hard test of excellence. His εὐδαιμονία is the

μόχθων ἀμπνοά—²
 μαιομένων μεγάλην
 ἀρετὰν θυμῷ λαβεῖν,

¹ E.g. the captive, the caitiff.

² Pindar, *Ol.*, viii. 5.

and it is the reward of excellence and not of equality. Hence a graduation of worth according to particular ἀρεταί justly measured, or, as we might say, manhood seen against a background of justice.

Such competition was the basis of the traditional and heroic system of morals and is implied in any polytheistic theory ; but Pindar nearly surrenders the heroic, as if at variance with himself, when he praises Corinth.

ἐν τᾷ γὰρ Εὐνομία ναίει κασι-
γνηταί τε βάθρον πολίων ἀσφαλές,
Δίκη καὶ ὁμότροφος Εἰρήνη, ταμίαι ἀνδράσι πλού-
του, χρύσεται παῖδες εὐβούλου θέμιτος.¹

Εὐνομία, Δίκη, and Θέμις, though conceptions as old as Lycurgus, seem here to

¹ Pindar, *Olymp.*, xiii. 5 ; cf. *Olymp.*, ix. 12.

οὔτοι χαμαιπετέων λόγων ἐφάψαι
ἀνδρὸς ἀμφὶ παλαίσμασιν φόρμιγγ' ἐλελίζων
κλεινᾶς ἐξ Ὀπέεντος αἰνήσαις ἔ καὶ υἱόν,
ἂν θέμις θυγάτηρ τέ Φοι σώτειρα (preserver) λέλογχεν
μεγαλόδοξος Εὐνομία. θάλλει δ' ἀρεταῖσιν (victories)
σὸν τε, Κασταλία, πάρα
Ἄλφειοῦ τε ῥέεθρον
ὅθεν στεφάνων ἅωτοι κλυτὰν
Λοκρῶν ἐπαείροντι ματέρ' ἀγλαόδενδρον,
where the εὐνομία heralds the victories.

herald a weakening ; for, if by their indwelling a πόλις is ἀσφαλής yet this is not a great triumph ; it is the leader that has the great destiny and for him is no safety :

λαγέταν γὰρ τοι τύραννον δέρκεται
εἴ τιν' ἀνθρώπων ὁ μέγας πότμος· αἰὼν δ' ἀσφαλής
οὐκ ἔγεντ' οὐτ' Αἰακίδα παρὰ Πηλεῖ
οὔτε παρ' ἀντιθέῳ Κάδμῳ.

Thus, if we are to have a πόλις ruled by Εὐνομία, Δίκη, and Θέμις, μάλιστα μὲν λέοντα μὴ ἔν πόλει τρέφειν.¹ For this Aristophanic expulsion, Pindar, by a φιλειταιρία like that of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, seems to have reached in his maturity an Aristotelian reason. Even in a democracy there is room for the μόναρχος who holds to the μέσον, but by his ἀρετή reaches the highest place : Aristotle, though he hankers after the μόναρχος, writes : καίτοι πασῶν ὀλιγοχρονιώτεροι τῶν πολιτειῶν εἰσὶν ὀλιγαρχία καὶ τύραννις : and αἱ δημοκρατίαι ἀσφαλέστεραι τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν εἰσὶ καὶ πολυχρονιώτεροι διὰ τοὺς μέσους. Pindar similarly praises the μέσα and the μέσοι, but ends with the χάρις of aristocratic fame.

¹ Ar., *Ranae*, 1432.



Πυθοῖ τε γυμνὸν ἐπὶ στάδιον κατὰβαντες ἤλεγξαν
 Ἑλλανίδα στρατίαν
 ὠκύτατι. θέοθεν ἐραίμαν καλῶν¹
 δύνατα μαιόμενος ἐν ἡλικίᾳ²
 τῶν γὰρ ἀνὰ πόλιν εὐρίσκων τὰ μέσα μακροτάτῳ
 ὄλβῳ τεθαλότα, μέμφομ' αἴσαν τυραννίδων·
 ξυναῖσιν ἀμφ' ἀρεταῖς τέταμαι· φθονεροὶ δ'
 ἀμύνοντ' εἰ³
 ἄτας τις ἀκρὸν ἐλὼν ἡσυχᾶ τε νεμόμενος αἶνὰν
 ὕβριν
 ἀπέφυγεν· μέλανος ἂν ἐσχατίαν
 καλλίονα θανάτου στείχοι γλυκυτάτα γενεᾶ
 εὐώνυμον κτεάνων κρατίσταν χάριν πορών·
 ἃ τε τὸν Ἰφικλείδαν
 διαφέρει Ἰόλαον
 ὕμνητὸν ἔοντα καὶ Κάστορος βίαν
 σέ τε, ἀναξ Πολύδευκες, υἱοὶ θεῶν,
 τὸ μὲν παρ' ἅμαρ ἔδραισι θεράπνας,
 τὸ δ' οἰκέοντας ἔνδον Ὀλύμπου.

In this ode that consensus or unity (the
 χάρις which prevailed among ἑταῖροι) be-

¹ Probably masculine.

² Pindar was about forty-five years old, a proper καιρός.

³ MSS. have ἀμυνονται ἄτα. Thrasydaeus, though a Theban, may have been connected with the Thessalian family known to Pindar in which the name occurs. Therefore Pindar may have written ἄττης, i.e. ἄτας; cf. *Theocritus*, xii. 14 : ὡς καὶ ὁ Θεσσαλος εἶποι, ἄττην. This consorts with the praise of χάρις, ἅπερ ἅπαντα τεύχει μείλιχα θνατοῖς (*Olympian*, i.).

comes an ideal of association consonant with all that can be said against the contrarieties of gods and heroes. Like Aeschylus, Pindar bears *δίκη* in his heart, though characteristically rather as conciliation than as vengeance. Another step, and harmony becomes obligatory ; peace and order become ineluctable ; the overshots of prowess are condemned, as neither Pindar nor Aeschylus condemned them ; the particular is confined by the general and must not overstep its province within that general. Plato applies the Corinthian peace to morals, taming τὸνλέοντα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸνλέοντα,¹ and reducing the motive powers within bounds. There shall be no action save that which is consonant with this harmony and which is performed by a man who shall exemplify this harmony in himself. Agreement has become a canon. The blessing is guarded by an anathema.²

There is to be no chafing and fretting of polytheistic counterclaims within a man ;

¹ Plato, *Republic*, 589 E.

² Aristotle is more correct. *Eth. Nic.*, iv. i : τῆς γὰρ ἀρετῆς τὰ καλὰ πράττειν μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ αἰσχροῦ μὴ πράττειν.

there must be but one ruler, a "hardest" who keeps all motive power within bounds : Jerusalem is built as a city that is at unity with itself. When action comes in any sphere, in making of money or tending of body, in a man's own affairs or in what was to the Greeks the greatest of tasks, politics, we no longer praise, with Pindar, a successful throw or jump, but that which would have been incomprehensible to the hero, the preserver of a καλή ἔξις.

τοιοῦτο μὲν τι ἦν, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἡ δικαιοσύνη, ἀλλ' οὐ περὶ τὴν ἔξω πράξιν τῶν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν ἐντὸς ὥς ἀληθῶς περὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, μὴ ἐάσαντα τὰλλοτρία πράττειν ἕκαστον ἐν αὐτῷ μηδὲ πολυπραγμονεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλα τὰ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ γένη, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι τὰ οἰκεῖα εὖ θέμενον καὶ ἀρξάντα αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ κοσμήσαντα καὶ φίλον γενόμενον ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ξυναρμόσαντα τρία ὄντα ὡσπερ ὅρους, τρεῖς ἀρμονίας ἀτεχνῶς νεότης τε καὶ ὑπάτης καὶ μέσης, καὶ εἰ ἄλλα ἅττα μεταξὺ τύγχανει ὄντα, πάντα ταῦτα ξυνδῆσαντα καὶ παντάπασιν ἓνα γενόμενον ἐκ πολλῶν, σῶφρονα καὶ ἡρμοσμένον, οὕτω δὲ πράττειν ἤδη εἴαν τι πράττη ἢ περὶ χρημάτων κτήσιν ἢ περὶ σώματος θεραπείαν ἢ καὶ πολιτικόν τι ἢ περὶ τὰ ἴδια συμβόλαια, ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ἡγούμενον καὶ ὀνομάζοντα δικαίαν μὲν καὶ καλὴν πράξιν ἢ ἂν ταύτην τὴν ἔξιν σώζῃ τε καὶ ξυναπεργάζεται, ἀδίκον δὲ πράξιν ἢ ἂν ταύτην λύῃ.

Thus in place of the man is set up the quality.¹

¹ Cf. Plutarch, *Praec. ger. Reip.*, c. 13, ὁ δὲ πολιτικός ἀριστοτέχνας τις ὢν κατὰ Πίνδαρον (Fragment 57) καὶ δημιουργὸς εὐνομίας καὶ δίκης.

XIII

AUTHORITY

THE question is : Where does authority rest ? It had been supposed to rest with Zeus, τοῦ γὰρ κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον,¹ or with a king, ὥτε Ζεὺς κῦδος ἔδωκεν.² And Plato, distinguishing from vulgar equality that equity according to desert which shall give a Pindaric precedence to the victors in his ἀγών of ἀρετή and παιδεία, finds it necessary to preserve a god to define the doctrine, Διὸς γὰρ δὴ κρίσις ἐστί.³ Yet Zeus is supposed only to see that which is not ῥάδιον παντὶ ἰδεῖν, that is to say, the δικαιοσύνη κατὰ ἀξίαν ; it is not said to be his creation and indeed the notion of an authority

¹ Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 118.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 279. Or at home with the father, or, in his absence, with the son, even if the mother were present, τοῦ γὰρ κράτος ἐστ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ (*Od.*, xxi. 353).

³ Plato, *Laws*, 757 B.

preceding law would run counter to Plato's principle οὐδὲν δεῖν τῶν νόμων εἶναι σοφώτερον.¹ For so long as a human ruler, or a god hardly more than human, is the final court of appeal, there will be failures or a mystery. Does authority rest here? And must we acquiesce in reverence? We must unless we have a stay beyond man or man-like god, unless we have a revelation in ourselves. If, divining by this, we trust an infallible δίκη resident somewhere in the universe, then indeed there is no reason for submission to the generative and undiscoverable; but, on the other hand, Zeus is then no longer supreme; he is subject to the overlordship of δίκη. If he is a guide φρονεῖν βροτοὺς ὁδῶσας,² a guide implies a way—a right way which he may not choose but follow. So that, if we escape injustice at the start, we find justice and not Zeus at the start, for Zeus is ruled by justice. Here lay the mine which threatened the Arrenistic and Aristocratic theory, which was to overturn the theology and ideals of Aeschylus; and it lay in Aeschylus.

¹ Plato, *Politicus*, 299 C.

² Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 176.

Pindar is content with the Uranian faith, accepting injustice like the Spartans, and looking only to the greater good that resides in the greater ruler, whereas a rift already cleaves the Aeschylean structure. The final control should rest with the masculine, with Agamemnon or with Zeus ; the king is hedged by divinity ; yet there is *δίκη* to which the one, and logically the other, should be *ὑπεύθυνος*. "Out upon it !" the reasoners could say, "where is this divine right ? And why should not we perceive it ? Away with the gods and the commander and the whole pack of lies, or submit them to judgment, to *δίκη* ! According to justice the ruler himself should stand or fall. Let him approve himself a public servant."

ἡμεῖς τῇ σῇ πόλει ἀρχὰς οὐθ' ὅτι πλούσιός ἐστί τις δώσομεν οὐθ' ὅτι τῶν τοιούτων ἄλλο οὐδὲν κεκτημένος, ἰσχὺν ἢ μέγεθος ἢ τι γένος· ὅς δ' ἂν τοῖς νόμοις εὐπειθέστατός τε ἦ καὶ νικᾷ ταύτην τὴν νίκην ἐν τῇ πόλει τούτῳ φάμεν καὶ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ὑπειρεσίαν δοτέον εἶναι τὴν μεγίστην τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ δευτέρῳ τῷ τὰ δεύτερα κρατοῦντι, καὶ κατὰ λόγον οὕτω τοῖς ἐφεξῆς τὰ μετὰ ταῦθ' ἕκαστα ἀποδοτέον εἶναι. Τοὺς δὲ ἄρχοντας λεγομένους νῦν ὑπηρέτας τοῖς νόμοις ἐκάλεσα οὐ τι καινοτομίας ὀνομάτων ἕνεκα ἀλλ' ἡγοῦμαι παντὸς μᾶλλον εἶναι

παρὰ τοῦτο σωτηρίαν¹ τε πόλει καὶ τούναντίον.
ἐν ᾗ γὰρ ἂν ἀρχόμενος ᾗ καὶ ἄκυρος νόμος φθορὰν
ὁρῶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἐτοίμην οὖσαν· ἐν ᾗ δ' ἂν δεσ-
πότης τῶν ἀρχόντων, οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες δούλοι τοῦ
νόμου σωτηρίαν καὶ πανθ' ὅσα θεοὶ πόλεσιν ἔδοσαν
ἀγαθὰ γιγνόμενα καθορῶ.²

¹ Observe that Plato, like Pindar and Aristotle, thinks of the preservation or permanence of a government.

² Plato, *Laws*, 715 B.

XIV

THE PHILOSOPHERS

THIS contravention of tradition gave us the philosophical Eros, himself marked by tradition.

It was, in fact, since Marathon a commonplace among the Greeks that they were distinguished from barbarians by *ἐλευθερία* and by such *ἰσονομία* as should preclude the tyranny of one man. οὐ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ἀπειλήν, ἀλλὰ νόμου φωνὴν κυριεύειν δεῖ τῶν εὐδαιμόνων.¹

¹ Hyperides, *Epitaphios*, 25 ; cf. also 20. "Ἄξιον τοίνυν συλλογίσασθαι καὶ τί ἂν συμβῆναι νομίζομεν μὴ κατὰ τρόπον τούτων ἀγωνισαμένων—ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐνὸς μὲν δεσπότης τὴν οἰκουμένην ὑπήκοον ἅπασαν εἶναι, νόμων δὲ τῷ τούτου τρόπῳ ἐξ ἀνάγκης χρῆσθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, συνελόντα δ' εἰπεῖν τὴν Μακεδόνων ὑπερηφάνειαν, καὶ μὴ τὴν τοῦ δικαίου δύναμιν ἰσχύειν παρ' ἑκάστοις ; φανερόν δ' ἐξ ὧν ἡναγκαζόμεθα καὶ νῦν ἤδη θυσίας μὲν ἀνθρώποις γιγνομένας ἐφορᾶν, ἀγάλματα δὲ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ ναοὺς τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς ἀμελῶς, τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἐπιμελῶς συντελούμενα, καὶ τοὺς τούτων οἰκετὰς ὥσπερ ἥρωας τιμᾶν ἡμᾶς ἀναγκαζομένους ;

The note of Greece is a certain abstraction, a disposition to the general which in sculpture, for instance, is a *δικαιοσύνη* or rightness (ideality, we call it) independent of the particular. Had the personal held the attention of the Greeks, we should have found a Flemish and near-sighted accuracy instead of the breadth of their memorials, and to Plato, for whom the visible world existed,¹ the other world of his ideas would not have had a reality incredible by us.

That the prime and intellectual beauty loved should be masculine was a matter of course. Enthusiasm for the *καλός* passing into adoration of the *καλόν*, heaven enveloping the beloved and justifying him, an

¹ Walter Pater, *Plato and Platonism*, iv., "The Genius of Plato": "Now Plato is one for whom the visible world thus 'really exists' because he is by nature and before all things, from first to last, unalterably a lover. In that, precisely, lies the secret of the susceptible and diligent eye, the so sensitive ear. The central interest of his own youth—of his profoundly impressible youth—as happens always with natures of real capacity, gives law and pattern to all that succeeds it." The words are important. "Just there, then, is the secret of Plato's intimate concern with, his power over, the sensible world, apprehensions of the sensuous faculty: he is a lover."

interpretation of justice which should reflect him, an assignment of moral values in accord with his character. This was not to the Greeks a *zurechtfälschen* of justice ; it was a δικαιοσύνη κατ' ἀξίαν, the conception of weight and worth having been always masculine. Not equality, but respect according with degree, the degree of this worth and beauty, was the justice¹ accepted, and the less called into question, because the masculine idea included those gentler qualities which have been wrenched from it by the modern formula of grace as belong-

¹ The doctrine of Socrates had its aristocratic elements and aristocratic followers ; yet, since its appeal is to reason and not to birth and tradition we are not surprised to find Plato considered an advocate of equality.

Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, ii. 42. 'Ἡ Πλάτωνος δόξα καὶ ὁ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς λόγος καὶ ἐς Ἀρχάδας ἀφίκετο καὶ Θηβαίους· καὶ οὖν καὶ ἐδεήθησαν αὐτοῦ πρέσβεις ἀποστείλαντες σὺν τῇ ἀνωτάτῳ σπουδῇ ἀφικέσθαι σφίσι τὸν ἄνδρα οὐκ ἐπὶ μόνῃ τῇ τῶν νέων προστασίᾳ οὐδ' ἵνα αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸ ἔτι τούτων μεῖζον νομοθέτην αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν. οὐκ οὖν ἐμελλον ἀτυχῆσαι τοῦ ἀνδρός· καὶ γὰρ ἦσθη ὁ τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος τῇ κλήσει καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐμελλεν ὑπακούσεσθαι. ἤρετο μέντοι τοὺς ἡκοντας πῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς τὸ ἴσον ἔχειν ἅπαντες ; ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθε παρ' αὐτῶν ὅτι πάνυ ἀλλοτρίως οὐδὲ πείσει αὐτοὺς τιμᾶν τὴν ἰσονομίαν, ἀπείπατο τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπιδημίαν.

ing to woman and strength only as belonging to men. The barbaric could not find its home in Greece. The justice of self-control and of ἐπιείκεια, allegiance to a standard, δικαιοσύνη itself—could aught be more πρέπον to the youth nobly bred? This coincidence of the ideal with the male, the female considered as his like but weaker, the νοῦς, his specialty, being his strength as well as his reasonableness, gave that proportion to the sum of human beauty which Plato endeavoured to define in qualities, in a righteousness made of wisdom, fortitude, and that temperance which is “sagesse.”¹

¹ Stewart, on Aristotle's *Ethics*, iii. 10, quotes Grant : “Σωφροσύνη, which, in spite of the false etymology given in Plato's *Cratylus*, 411 E (σωτηρία φρονήσεως), and *Eth.*, vi. 5, 5 (ὡς σώζουσιν τὴν φρόνησιν), meant originally “sound-mindedness” (in German, *Besonnenheit*), soon came to mean temperance with regard to pleasures. In this sense it is often popularly defined by Plato.”

Stewart continues : “Σωφροσύνη in the Republic is good sense and good feeling, resulting in moderation in all things ; and is especially viewed as a *communis sensus* or ὁμόνοια uniting the various classes of the state in peace and contentment under an established system of government (*Rep.*, 432). Aeschylus has the same list of qualities save that for wisdom he substitutes piety ; of Amphiaraus it is said (*Seven against Thebes*, 597) that he is : σώφρων δίκαιος ἀγαθὸς εὐσεβὴς ἀνὴρ.”

But this righteousness was no longer seen in heroes, who indeed were known to have transgressed it ; and transgression had become serious with the nomic control of cities. For this a general ἀρετή¹ was necessary. The qualities constituting it became philosophic ideals never quite instanced on earth, potent unseen realities which manhood should follow, which the heroes should have followed. The philosophers, spurning earthly grandeurs and mounting the back of heaven, became teachers of a morality unauthenticated, or but slightly authenticated by religion and legend.

Lads were sent to them for instruction, not without misgivings, which Aristophanes

¹ Plato, *Prot.*, 324 D. Protagoras speaks : Πότερον ἔστι τι ἓν, ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὗ ἀναγκαῖον πάντας τοὺς πολίτας μετέχειν, εἴπερ μέλλει πόλις εἶναι ; . . . εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔστι, καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἓν . . . δικαιοσύνη καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ τὸ ὅσιον εἶναι, καὶ συλλήβδην ἓν αὐτὸ προσαγορεύω εἶναι ἀνδρὸς ἀρετήν—εἰ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν οὗ δεῖ πάντας μετέχειν καὶ μετὰ τούτου πάντ' ἄνδρα, εἴαν τι καὶ ἄλλο βούληται μαρθάνειν ἢ πράττειν, οὕτω πράττειν, ἀνεὺ δε τούτου μή, ἢ τὸν μὴ μετέχοντα καὶ διδάσκειν καὶ κολάζειν καὶ παῖδα καὶ ἄνδρα καὶ γυναῖκα, ἕωσπερ ἂν κολάζομενος βελτίων γένηται, ὅς δ' ἂν μὴ ὑπακούῃ κολαζόμενος καὶ διδασκόμενος, ὡς ἀνίατον ὄντα τοῦτον ἐκβάλλειν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἢ ἀποκτείνειν κ.τ.λ.

enforces and which Plato shares. It was believed that a well-born youth must not abide too long with them; that other training claimed him, the gymnastic, the military, the practical, that which most continued the heroic and governmental tradition. In this ideality there lurked its opposite. Reaction from the spiritual is toward the sensual,¹ less dreaded by the Greeks in general than by the philosophers. But among those in whom philosophy superseded life, whose life consisted in the contemplation of beauty and in a visual relation to virtue, the reaction lay toward an aesthetic, not an athletic, sensuality, in a nature weakened by music.² In this bodiless worship there existed a danger of loss of the virtue of the body, its health, potency, and efficiency, which demand action, if not as an end, at least as if it were an end, the pursuit of an ἀρετή known and practicable, a valuation of manhood by deeds and not by the beauty which is a fitness for

¹ Francis Thompson, *The Dread of Height*.

² Plato, *Republic*, 411. Adam compares Pericles in *Thucyd.*, ii. 40. φιλοσοφεῖν ἀνεὺ μαλακίας, the good without its defect.

deeds. Hence the attempt to represent morals in the likeness of palaestra, μέγας ὁ ἀγών, but the state of the ψυχὴ is the prize. So the philosophers would borrow an accredited glory.

But mark that it was this accredited glory which they desired, a nomic ideal that should also be athletic. The personal rule was to disappear in divinity—it had already disappeared in politics. But the ideal, which was no respecter of persons, was strenuous in its respect of qualities, and these qualities, despite the urbanity of Plato and the softness of the early fourth century (most conspicuous in sculpture) were yet hard to attain and were attained by few. By a combination of Spartan and Athenian elements it is, if the phrase may be admitted, a Laconian νοῦς¹ which prevails, a virtue still dwelling on heights open indeed, but inaccessible unless a man have full strength of intellectual and spiritual nature.

¹ Adam, on Plato's *Republic*, iii. 410 A, speaking, it is true, only of Plato's desire to harness gymnastic with music so as to induce gentleness and strength of soul, says: "It is an ideal in which the distinctive virtues of Athens and Sparta—of Greece and Rome—are united and transfigured."

The supremacy of intelligence is at least fully guarded. We have lost the hero ; we have lost the heroic virtues and failures ; we must live within the limits of the nomic system, οὗ δει̃ πάντας μετέχειν καὶ μετὰ τούτου παντ' ἄνδρα, εἴαν τι καὶ ἄλλο βούληται μαρτυρεῖν ἢ πράττειν, οὕτω πράττειν, ἀνεὺ δὲ τούτου, μή, so that order is the first commandment and accomplishment hardly even the second. But this new order, though it may sacrifice strength to reasonableness, is nevertheless exigent in the extreme and shows traces of its arrenistic and lordly ancestry. Weakened qualities are dominant instead of strong men, but they are masculine qualities and there is no doubt of their just dominance.

The test of the philosophical system of ethics was its recognition as the best by the νοῦς. The νοῦς is possessed by man rather than by woman ; therefore the test, like the aim, is masculine. In some way, comparable to the Protestant discovery of a sure theology unauthenticated by the church, νοῦς was to ascertain the best and therein to find rest from the personal, the variable, and the transitory. The philosophical Eros

thus led to general conclusions without fear or favour. As the State had excluded the arbitrary from its polity, so the new doctrine would exclude every arbitrament save that of reason.

XV

THE HEARERS

BUT the Greeks were puzzled. True, they had always been accustomed to place morality far more than we in the νοῦς. Μωρία was its opposite. The Socratic doctrine that good conduct would follow perception of truth, and the Platonic doctrine, which placed wisdom (νοῦς) in command of θυμός and of the ἐπιθυμητικόν,¹ are characteristically Greek in their appeal to the mind without suspicion of the heart.² They imply no doctrine of

¹ Plato, *Laws*, ix. 875. οὐδὲ θέμις ἐστὶ νοῦν οὐδενὸς ὑπῆκοον οὐδὲ δοῦλον ἀλλὰ πάντων ἄρχοντα εἶναι ἐάνπερ ἀληθινὸς ἐλεύθερός τε ὄντως ἢ κατὰ φύσιν.

² Adam, *The Religious Teachers of Greece*, p. 331. "Nothing is more noteworthy in connexion with Socrates' doctrine of virtue and vice, than the faith he exhibits in the essential goodness of human nature." P. 325: "The prevailing conception of sin in Homer and Herodotus, in lyric poetry and in the drama, treats it as a form of mental blindness or aberration."

original sin nor of the necessity of a baptism unto repentance. Clytaemestra's first reproof of Agamemnon in Euripides is not that he is a bad man but that he has lost his head ; and in the head lies the headship. The ideal commander was the ideal mind in person :

ὁ νοῦς ὅδ' αὐτὸς νοῦν ἔχων οὐ τυγχάνει.¹

According to the thinking of the Greeks, to discredit mind would be to discredit manhood and morality.

Further, the superstitious value attached to words, as if a revelation were hidden in them,² and the vague boundary between a quality (which we should call an allegorical virtue) and a goddess made a transition to Plato's entities easy ; Pindar had appealed to them, to Εὐνομία, to Ἥσυχία.

Yet a certain arrogance was felt in this new divine right to dictate virtue, or to

¹ Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, 1139 ; cf. 1125. The line has been otherwise interpreted.

Ibid., 374 :

μηδὲν ἀνδρείας ἑκατι προστάτην θείμην χθονὸς
μηδ' ὀπλων ἄρχοντα· νοῦν χρὴ τὸν στρατηλάτην ἔχειν·
πόλεος ὡς ἄρχων ἀνὴρ πᾶς, ξύνεσιν ᾗν ἔχων τύχη.

² Plato's *Cratylus*, *passim*.

dictate to a virtue known and inherited ; and from this arrogance recoil lay to tradition. In Greece wisdom had been supposed to find its consummate expression in statesmen, or in those who had given the law to states, Draco, Solon, Aegimios, Hyllos, Lycurgus, Archytas, and the like, or in a hero by nature fitted to command such as Neoptolemus, γένος αἰεὶ φέρειν τοῦτο Φοι γέρας¹ ; and no doubt the blood of pupils would often rise against their masters, as Heracles against Linus, asserting an inherited and indefeasible virtue² which could be trained, but not taught, whose highest aim was emulation of ancestors. The people might

¹ Pindar, *Nem.*, vii. 34 :

ἐν Πυθίοισι δὲ δαπέδοις
κεῖται, Πριάμου πόλιν Νεοπτολεμὸς ἐπεὶ πράθεν
τᾷ καὶ Δαναοὶ πόνησαν· ὁ δ' ἀποπλέων
Σκύρου μὲν ἄμαρτε πλαγχθέντες δ' εἰς Ἐφύραν ἔκοντο·
Μολοσσίᾳ δ' ἐμβασίλευεν ὀλίγον
χρόνον· ἀτὰρ γένος αἰεὶ φέρειν
τοῦτο Φοι γέρας.

² Plutarch, *Praec. Reip.*, *ger.*, 820 A :

ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ Πλάτων ἀκουστέον εἶναι τοῖς νέοις ἔλεγεν ἐκ
παίδων εὐθύς ὥς οὔτε περικεῖσθαι χρυσὸν αὐτοῖς ἔξωθεν
οὔτε κεκτῆσθαι θέμις οἰκεῖον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ συμμεμιγμένον
ἔχοντας, αἰνιττόμενος, οἶμαι, τὴν ἐκ γένους διατείνουσαν
εἰς τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν.

well question whether, for their boys, the philosophers would give them back the men whom they wanted—whom they must have, unless, amid perpetual conflicts, the πόλις was to go under—whether they would receive the old and tried stuff, the singular excellences and overshots of prowess which had been commended in their ancestors and were woven into their lives by the chthonic worship of those who “ possessed ”¹ the land. Ajax² and Neoptolemos were not favoured by the new κοσμιότης. The general principles now advocated did poor duty for Heracles, to whom Greece owed a

¹ Pindar, *Nem.*, iv. 48 :

Αἴας Σαλαμῖν' ἔχει πατρώαν·
 ἐν δ' Εὐξείνῳ πελάγει φαεινὰν Ἀχιλεὺς
 νᾶσον· Θέτις δὲ κρατεῖ
 Φθίᾳ· Νεοπτόλεμος δ'
 Ἀπείρῳ διαπρυσία.

Pyth., v., Αντ' γ' :

Κυράνας ἀγακτιμέναν πόλιν·
 ἔχοντι τὰν χαλκοχάρμαι ξένοι
 Τρῶες Ἀντανορίδαι.

Cf. Fuller's *Holy War*, Book First, Chapter xxi. “Nigh in the cave of Machpelah, the patriarchs were buried ; whose bodies took livery and seisin in behalf of their posterity, which were to possess the whole land.”

² The Locrian.

general allegiance. The far-seen stars of the philosophical firmament called human nature to withdraw from the human and to participate in a divine¹ nature unconnected with the constitutional divinities who protected the state. ἀδικεῖ Σωκράτης οὐς μὲν ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς οὐ νομίζων ἕτερα δὲ δαιμόνια καινὰ εἰσηγούμενος· ἀδικεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς νέους διαφθείρων.²

¹ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, x. 7. οὐ γὰρ δὴ κατὰ τοὺς παραινούντας (of whom Pindar was one) ἀνθρώπινα φρονεῖν ἄνθρωπον ὄντα οὐδὲ θνητὰ τὸν θνητόν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅσον ἐνδέχεται ἀθανατίζειν.

² Diog., *Laert.*, ii. 5, 40. No doubt the divine voice was the δαιμόνιον of Socrates in particular; but the plural may be taken to indicate all divine authorities substituted for the traditional gods by philosophers.

XVI

INTERMEZZO

THE fact that the abstract won the day, in theory if not in practice nor in cult, and that the theory was handed on to the ages, should not mislead us. The Greeks led the way, and we think only in the track of their thought, pursuing an unitary or philosophic synthesis detached from individualism.

The philosophical Eros, with a change in the sex of his avatars, now permeates all lands ; and we may believe, if we choose, that the change does not matter and that, clinging to the permanent, we are clinging to the Greek. There is no sciolist who visits a Greek temple or reads a Greek book but fancies that, rejecting what offends and living a wholly different life, he or she acquires a right of citizenship in the ancient city, though his or her allegiance is only to

a deflected abstract from Greece. If this ideality is all that we want, it is possible to argue that the Greeks have given us an inheritance and are no longer necessary.

But, if we doubt ourselves, we search beyond our agreement for that in which they differed from us. If there is more light to break forth from texts a thousand times edited, it will be because we hark back to what we wish back, because we do not pluck the flower and wire it to our liking, careless of the plant.¹ Otherwise Greek studies

¹ Contrast George Gissing, *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft*, "Autumn," xvi. "It is idle to talk to us of 'the Greeks.' Our heritage of Greek literature and art is priceless; the example of Greek life possesses for us not the slightest value. The Greeks had nothing alien to study—not even a foreign or dead language. They read hardly at all, preferring to listen. They were a slave-holding people, much given to social amusement, and hardly knowing what we call industry. Their ignorance was vast, their wisdom a grace of the gods. Together with their intelligence, they had grave moral weaknesses. If we could speak with an average Athenian of the Periclean Age, he would cause no little disappointment—there would be so much more of the barbarian in him, and at the same time of the decadent, than we had anticipated. . . . Leave him in the Old World, which is precious to the imagination of a few, but to the business and bosoms of the modern multitude irrelevant as Memphis or Babylon."

shrink to a revision of *incunabula* and an *index expurgatorius* of beauties happily lost.

Amiel, *Journal Intime*, 10 novembre 1852. "Combien n'avons nous pas à apprendre des Grecs, ces immortels aïeux ! et comme ils ont mieux résolu leur problème que nous. Leur homme n'était pas le nôtre, mais comme ils ont mieux révé (note the word), cultivé, ennobli l'homme qu'ils connaissaient. A mille égards encore, nous sommes auprès d'eux des barbares, comme me le disait, en soupirant, Béranger en 1843. Barbares en éducation, en éloquence, en vie publique, en poésie, en fait d'art, etc. Il nous faut des millions d'hommes pour en produire quelques-uns d'élite ; un millier suffisait en Grèce. Si la mesure d'une civilisation est le nombre d'hommes accomplis qu'elle produit, nous sommes encore loin de ce peuple modèle. Les esclaves ne sont plus au-dessous de nous, mais ils sont parmi nous. La barbarie n'est plus aux frontières, elle vit avec nous porte à porte."

XVII

DOUBT OF PHILOSOPHICAL TEACHING

FUNDAMENTALLY it was the ἀρεταὶ against ἀρετή—the achievements against the order which limited them, the man against a system. A man should play his part, should give evidence of what is in him ; he need not trouble about the rest. This was the old tenet. It required but to be turned by Plato. A man should limit himself to his part, τὸ αὐτοῦ πράττειν καὶ μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν. Ἀνδρεία is thus assigned to its place. As the divinity becomes its attribute, the principal virtue becomes an attribute of a general ἀρετή to be formulated by the philosophic mind. This indeed can trouble about all things and order all things, and the order is δικαιοσύνη, righteousness. This is the new version of Agamemnon and of Zeus. Sup-

pose the order to be misconceived,—to be, in fact, a disorder¹—then arises the occasion for the parody Δῖνος βασιλεύει² and ὁ μετέωρα φρονῶν is his prophet. But, were the order perfect, it would still be insufficient without sufficiency of the matters ordered. Better the virtues, we may think (and one of them a principal virtue), though disorderly and conflicting, than an order, or general ἀρετή, which should abstract men from the virtues. Better a man alive, though distracted, than the ἀταραξία of those who reluctantly rejoined the life of the state.³ At least to

¹ Horace, *Carm.*, i. 34 :

“Parcus deorum cultor et infrequens
insanientis dum sapientiae
consultus erro”—

the gods abandoned for philosophy, the philosophy distraught.

² Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 828, 1471. Euripides lends himself to the caricature, though with a difference :

Fragment Pirithous, Nauck. T.G.F., 579 :

τρόπος δὲ χρηστὸς ἀσφαλέστερος νόμου.
τὸν μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἂν διαστρέψαι ποτε
λόγος δύναιτο, τὸν δ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω
ῥήτωρ σπάρασσων πολλάκις λυμαίνεται.

³ So the Epicureans. Plutarch, *Adversus Colotem.*, 31. οὐδεὶς οὖν ἔπαινος ἄξιός ἂν γένοιτο τῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὰ πάθη θηριώδη θεμένων καὶ πολιτείας καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ

the Greeks a man was more than a philosopher and progenerator of the ideal. Their admiration stretched to his will and feeling, to his body, to the *σπλάγχνα* and *φρένες* where the *θυμός* held sway. They loved the *εἶδος ἀξίους τυραννίδος*¹ and were wellnigh willing to be ruled by a man of quality :

ἄνδρὸς δ' ὑπ' ἐσθλοῦ καὶ τυραννεῖσθαι καλόν.²

νόμων διάταξιν· ἀλλὰ τίνες εἰσιν οἱ ταῦτα συγγέοντες καὶ καταλύοντες καὶ ἄρδην ἀναιροῦντες ; οὐχ οἱ πολιτείας ἀφιστάντες αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς πλησάζοντας, οὐχ οἱ τὸν τῆς ἀταραξίας στέφανον ἀσύμβλητον εἶναι ταῖς μεγάλαις ἡγεμονίαις λέγοντες ; οὐχ οἱ τὸ βασιλεύειν ἁμαρτίαν καὶ διάπτωσιν ἀποφαίνοντες καὶ γράφοντες αὐταῖς λέξεσιν ὅτι λέγειν δεῖ πῶς τις ἄριστα τὸ τῆς φύσεως τέλος συντηρήσει καὶ πῶς τις ἔκων εἶναι μὴ πρόσσεισιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν πληθῶν ἀρχάς ; Plato, *Theaetetus*, 176b. φυγὴ δ' ὁμοίωσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ὁμοίωσις δὲ δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον μετὰ φρονήσεως γενέσθαι.

¹ Euripides, Dindorf, Fragment 16 :

ἴδοιμι δ' αὐτῶν ἔκγον' ἄρσεν' ἀρσένων
πρῶτον μὲν εἶδος ἀξίον τυραννίδος.
πλείστη γὰρ ἀρετὴ τοῦθ' ὑπάρχον ἐν βίῳ
τὴν ἀξίωσιν τῶν καλῶν τὸ σῶμ' ἔχειν.

Fragment 17 :

λαμπροὶ δ' ἐν αἰχμαῖς Ἄρεος ἐν τε συλλόγοις
μή μοι τὰ κομψὰ ποικίλοι γενοίατο
ἄλλ' ὧν πόλει δεῖ, μέγαλα βούλευοντες εὔ.

² Euripides, *Tragicorum graecorum, Fragmenta*, Nauck.³, 8.

There remained in them, handed down perhaps by the women,¹ who represented a more primitive state, an allegiance to the knightly tradition. Their objection to philosophy was that it did not generate *θυμός*, the motive of *ἀνδρεία* ; and below this there may have lain a sure sense of the value of *ἐπιθυμίας*, not as idealistic, but as indulgences and pauses, for which philosophers, though tempted by their angels of light, had less tolerance. *θυμός* and the *ἐπιθυμίας*, those first developments of youth : the philosophers did not nourish² the one nor guide the other to a healthy end in their pale disciples. They ordered them as presupposed possessions, data rather feared than encouraged ; and admiration was reserved for the ensuing order or rightness.

The moral parody was to represent the sages as of like parts and passions with ourselves and to attribute to them as a

¹ Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 63 :

ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἵππον προστίθει
πρὸς τοῦνομα.

Plato, *Republic*, 549 C.

² Plato in *The Laws* endeavours to provide for the development of *θυμός*, but his philosophy has rather to do with *σωφροσύνη*.

specialty what, in disbelieving days, is attributed to monks, the sensuality which would have been accepted in laymen. There lay in this something better than ridicule and vulgarity. In the controlled was life ; the controlling rightness was an idea. That wisdom was the prime necessity was not doubted ; but there was danger that fortitude should be outvoted by wisdom, temperance, and justice, if control were handed over by natural leaders to those marshals of distinctions and principles, the λεπτολογούμενοι.

And to nothing less than control did the philosophers aspire. They drew up νόμοι for a state, laws in their own style, which, allowing more power to certain classes of citizens, should establish in the polity the same order and precedence of qualities which they recommended to individuals.

XVIII

THE URANIAN ROMANCE

BUT there had always been a trend of resistance to this.

If, in the Middle Ages, the excess consequent on that doctrine of the courts of imaginative love—*Matrimonium non est amoris excusatio*—was adultery, such as that of Tristram of Lyonesse, the attempt to justify it, as Shelley attempted to justify Beatrice Cenci,¹ was sure of sympathy. "The light that led astray was light from Heaven."² A like romantic justification

¹ Shelley, Preface to *The Cenci*: "It is in the restless and anatomizing casuistry with which men seek the justification of Beatrice, yet feel that she has done what needs justification, that the dramatic character of what she did and suffered consists."

² Burns, *The Vision, Duan the Second*. Contrast the soothing Maximus of Tyre, xxvii, γ' : οὐδεν γὰρ καλὸν ἐπιβλαβές οὐδ' εἰς σφαλερὸν οὐδ' εἰς μοχθηρίαν συντελοῦν οὐδ' εἰς δυστυχίαν ἄγον οὐδ' εἰς συμφορὰν χειραγωγοῦν οὐδ' εἰς μετάγνωσιν τελευτῶν. We are

must have followed many *μεγάθυμοι* (whose poets have perished) in their excesses, Ajax Oileus, Capaneus,¹ Pyrrhus, perhaps even Salmoneus, as it follows Milton's Satan, and the Prometheus is a justification of such excess, a justification disallowed (it seems) in the end, but pleaded with the more earnestness. Of such heroes as these, the founders and protectors of cities,² other *νόμοι* than those of Plato were sung,³ not written, as Achilles was sung in *The Wrath*, with melody expressive of that character which their descendants desired to retain

to have a happy time of it—yet no, for there is hardly anything and little that is noble which we may do without taking risks and often the risk of doing wrong.

¹ Capaneus occurs often on Greco-Etruscan scarabaei ; cf. Statius.

² So the three libations were : the first to Zeus, the second to the heroes mostly descended from Zeus, the third to Zeus Soter, the preserver of the heroic race in its descendants.

³ Laws were sung in Crete (Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, ii. 39). Κρήτες δὲ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐλευθέρους μανθάνειν ἐκέλευον τοὺς νόμους μετὰ τινος μελωδίας ἵνα ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ψυχαγωγῶνται καὶ εὐκολώτερον αὐτοὺς τῇ μνήμῃ διαλαμβάνωσι καὶ ἵνα μὴ τι τῶν κεκωλυμένων πράξαντες ἀγνοίᾳ πεποιηκέναι ἀπολογίαν ἔχωσι. δεύτερον δὲ μάθημα ἔταξαν τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὕμνους μανθάνειν, τρίτον τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐγκώμια.

from them, and sung with reverence and fear because they might yet arise from their graves. Ajax¹ rushes to battle on the Locrian coins, though his boat had been split by the thunderbolt of Athens for his violation of her temple by the rape of Cassandra, and himself cast back from a rock of refuge to drown in the sea by the anger of Poseidon. Neoptolemos lies in the Delphic shrine. He had died by the will of Apollo for a grievous crime.

ᾠμοσεν δὲ θεός·
γε(ραιὸ)ν ὅς Πρίαμον
πρὸς ἐρκείον ἦναρε βωμὸν ἐ(π-
εν)-θορόντα,
μή νιν εὐφρον' ἐς οἶμον
μήτ' ἐπὶ γῆρας ἰξέ-
μεν βίου· ἀμφιπόλοις δὲ
(μ)οιρ(ιᾶν) περὶ τιμᾶν
(δηρι)αζόμενον κτάνεν
(ἐν τεμέ)νεϊ φίλῳ γᾶς
παρ' ὀμφαλὸν εὐρύν²

¹ Theognis, 447. Bergk., *Poetae Lyrici Graeci* :

Σχέτλι Ἑρως, μανίαι σ' ἐτιθηνήσαντο λαβοῦσαι
ἐκ σέθεν ὤλετο μὲν Ἴλιου ἀκροπολις
ὤλετο δ' Αἰγείδης Θησεὺς μέγας, ὤλετο δ' Αἰάς
ἐσθλὸς Οἰλιάδης, σῆσιν ἀτασθαλίαις.

² Pindar, *Paeon.*, vi., iii.

Yet Pindar after these words is bold to write that he has passed no inexorable condemnation :

τὸ δ' ἐμὸν οὐποτε φάσει κέαρ
ἀτρόποισι Νεοπτόλεμον ἐλκύσαι
ἔπεσι,¹

and, in stately language, gives him the place due to so great a guardian of temple and to the offspring of the noble loves of Aegina and Zeus.²

ἐχρῆν δέ τιν' ἔνδον ἄλσει παλαιάτῳ
Αἰακιδᾶν κρεόντων τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμμεναι
θεοῦ παρ' εὐτειχέα δόμον, ἥροϊαίς δὲ πομπαῖς
θεμισκόπον οἰκεῖν ἔόντα πολυθύτοις·
εὐώνυμον ἐς δίκαν τρία Φέπεα διαρκέσει·
οὐ ψεῦδης ὁ μάρτυς ἔργμασιν ἐπιστατεῖ,
Αἴγινα, τεῶν Διὸς τ' ἐκγόνων.³

With these examples of heroism in mind, heroism unsubjected to a theory of perfection, the people listened to the philosophy of the new εὐώνυμος δίκη and its claim to overrule their Eupatrids and to disallow their πατρικοὶ νόμοι. They would not disparage justice ; they could not dispute it ; they

¹ Pindar, *Nem.*, vii. 10.

² *Nem.*, viii., first strophe and antistrophe.

³ *Nem.*, vii. 44-48.

would be led *quo fas et gloria ducunt*, but where in this doctrine was the *gloria*? Where the κλέα ἀνδρῶν? The men had disappeared with the glory, only *fas* remaining, not only the men of old, but the men of their own place, not perfect men, but more readily liked than the perfect man with his austerities and inscrutabilities. A mind fit to rule should prove itself, they thought, by government, and not by writing a *πολίτεια*; it should deal with men, and should be personal and personally influential; it might be personal to a fault; there were ἐπιθυμίαι which endeared.

XIX

THE AUTHORITY OF MAN

THE measure of knowledge, though not of truth, is the measure of recognition, and recognition is human and fleeting, though truth may be divine and eternal, so that the measure of known truth is personal and transitory. Ethically this measure is of the first importance, since our recognition of it is not abandonment of the disproved and acceptance of the proved as in science, not a progress bearing with it an assured and verifiable remainder, but a perpetual resumption of the past and an endeavour to perceive at once all that which has been seen rarely and partly and then forgotten. Each must rely on his imperfect temperament to appreciate the experiences of many lovers of life in divers places and ages. This appreciation will not be valid unless it

savours of its origin in the *praecordia*. The judge of ethical questions must be indoctrinated by the examples of passion and daring which he has in himself. If the higher or the more spirited or the intense, νοῦς, θυμός, ἐπιθυμία, are non-existent in him, they are non-existent, not in fact, but in his appreciation and therefore in his knowledge. The δίκη according to which he judges is that latent in himself. His discovery of moral values, whether in old treasure-houses or in modern prophecies, whether his millennium be a second advent or a new man, is an invention of something thereto correspondent in himself ; his combination is a projection of self and so informed by self that it is nearly his invention in the sense of conception and creation. His judgment is invalid save so far as that self is a chip of the block ; but he may reach a human constant in the depths of his own soul, and he cannot go out of himself to others. Where he lodges there he finds truth and perceives it for a moment.

There is no ethical vision, save in such moments ; and to that vision the man's nature was necessary ; it would have been

other, had he been other ; it would not have been such had he not been such ; in his discernment lies the value of his decree concerning a better and a worse, a good attained or missed an evil. His desires and determination are then radical, rightful, and virtuous. *Δικαιοσύνη* is one of those desires, which has been raised to predominance and has undertaken to assign to all their relative ranks ; but they have these ranks by birth and no one desire can deprive its assessors of their congenital regency. The philosophers might love justice and constitute it an entity beyond man and fit to overrule God ; but that which is generative and original is the root, which accordingly must be held in honour and not trampled into nothing by *καὶνὰ δαιμόνια*. Zeus is not to be deposed by his daughter *Δίκη*.

Determination proceeds from desire, desire from below, below the *νοῦς*. The aristocratic presumption of the mind, that " purer " part of man, is held in check by an autocracy—by the blind discernment and convenient decree of man's ambition, or embrace of an ideal. The power that makes for righteousness receives admonitions. God

was thought by the Pharisees to study the law. In truth He queries it and repents Him of the evil.

The "purer" life is lived in abstraction from the body, and Plato would free us from our emotions; but a dog, though symbolic of opprobrium both among the Greeks and among the Jews,¹ is high-spirited, and faithful in his affection. And spirit and affection are *θυμός* and *ἐπιθυμία*; without *νοῦς* he shares some of our best virtues, courage and love, which correspond to strength and gentleness. We may remember that Achilles had both the *θυμός*, run to *μῆνις*, and *ἐπιθυμία* shown in desire, for Briseis loved *κηρόθεν*,² but also for the companionship of Patroclus, whose death arouses his *θυμός* and drives him to battle.

Here we have motive forces, since we cannot call them motor angels, whereas *νοῦς*,

¹ Cruden's *Concordance* under "Dog." "By the law it was declared unclean, and was very much despised among the Jews. Christ excludes dogs, sorcerers, whoremongers, murderers, and idolaters from the kingdom of heaven (Rev. xxii. 15)." Considering the connexion, we may suppose men to be intended, but men like dogs.

² *Iliad*; and cf. Propertius, ii. 8, 35.

though masculine, is only a part of man, and must not be taken as the whole. It is the coldest faculty of human nature ; but " la raison et la justice supposent à l'origine l'émotion." ¹ All passions bring their contribution to the wise man ; else he has no sense, but judges as stock or stone.

His understanding of motive desires is not an intellectual exercise. He must have experience of them, at least by sympathy ; *πάθος μάθος* in no Aeschylean sense. For this he needs rather temperament than *νοῦς* ; and by his temperament we judge his judgment, holding that a righteous judgment distils from a various and well-developed nature, of which the body is a part. He must know the relative value of our desires ;

¹ H. F. Amiel, *Journal Intime*, 7 novembre, 1878 : " Comprendre les choses, c'est avoir été dans les choses puis en être sorti ; il y faut donc captivité, puis délivrance, illusion et désillusion, engouement et désabusement. Celui qui est encore sous le charme et celui qui n'a pas subi le charme sont incompetents. On ne connaît bien que ce qu'on a cru, puis jugé. Pour comprendre il faut être libre et ne l'avoir pas toujours été. Cela est vrai qu'il soit question de l'amour, de l'art, de la religion, du patriotisme. La sympathie est la condition première de la critique ; la raison et la justice supposent à l'origine l'émotion."

and knowledge of them is not deliberation ; it is the substratum of deliberation.

Thus *θυμός* and *ἐπιθυμία* come into play, not merely as data to be controlled but as elements to be nourished, since they are to be *πάρεδροι* of the *νοῦς* and themselves fit to share control. In the determination of values which precedes the decrees of moralists, the weights of feeling are more important than the balance of "consideration,"¹ the beginning overrules the end, the genesis the revelation, some initial reaction against a human quality determining its condemnation, some involuntary admiration appearing in a code as precept or counsel ; and wisdom becomes a decalogue of desires.

¹ Keats.

XX

JUSTICE

HAD νοῦς, then, forfeited its rights, and are we reduced to the beauty of torrents and of blind impetuosities? This could not be in a thinking country, and least of all in the land of Uranian thinkers, since as

δίκην ἐπίστασαι
νόμοις τε χρῆσθαι μὴ πρὸς ἰσχύος χάριν ¹

distinguished the proper man, φύσει πολιτικὸν ζῶον, from the barbarian, so rationality by its degree distinguishes man from woman. The mere admission of θυμός and the ἐπιθυμίαι to counsel is already a sufficient admission of the feminine,

εἰκὸς γὰρ ὀργὰς θῆλυ ποιεῖσθαι γένος ²

though an admission which we need not

¹ Eur., *Medea*, 537-538.

² *Ibid.*, 909.

regret, considering that overlapping or coincidence which we noted, the masculine including much of the feminine, so that the face of an athlete may be mistaken for a girl's, and the feminine participating in the masculine, whereby the curve of the thighs is brought within measure, and man impinges by appropriation and by governance on woman's province. This regulation appeals to the rational. It constitutes νόμοι κοινοί. Agreement is an index of rationality ; a standard must be collective.

The mere fact that we cannot make words mean what we like is a sign that meaning must be common. He who in the closet of his heart imagines that which no one else means or meant or could ever mean is an idiot, or else a stammerer in some divine tongue whereby he agrees with the meaning of the spirit possessing him, and implies community with another world. The champion excogitated to defend man against the philosopher, or against δικαιοσύνη, or against what you will, must represent man, and has his own justice in justly representing him. You shall not escape the abstract by the theory of an inspiration

from below ; you have found indeed a different abstract, but likewise a theory. And if a theory must be found, what theory is more masculine than that which includes δίκη, unless man is of the race of the giants and not of the gods? Then indeed the *vis consili expers* would characterize him along with Typhon and the megatheria.

But his mark was not the mark of the beast, not brute strength, but the strength which imposes and endures a limit, which rejoices in the maintenance of his oath ; and his ἀνδρεία is partly σοφία. His mind, gathering all his faculties into a closet of unseen life, opens a spiritual combat wherein impulses act and react in debate and find their resultant in predeterminant meditation. Other is the play of inconsistent words and deeds in the ἀνεξέταστος βίος of a woman ; other her engaging simplicity which neglects half the problem ; other that synthesis of ill-comprehended moral matter which she announces with Sinaitic certainty.

It is one of man's pathetic gallantries or a dire constraint of grammar to represent justice as feminine. Even so her eyes have to be bandaged, and her task is but

to hold the balance, not seeing the weights lest she look with favour on the wrong claimant and tip the beam. Her desires are known to him. They should all exist in him, for every desire brings its contribution to the good judge of ethics, all that she has and all that he has also, and hers, though pertaining to that part of nature which in the Greek estimate is lower, are not therefore the less important, since she has affection and in a measure courage and directness ; but there is in man an overplus and a somewhat incommunicable reserve of motive powers, and he has the logical and classificatory νοῦς. Drinking his information from all sources, his in addition to hers, the lower no less than the higher, he reaches a balance and adjudication which is stamped by them, but also by him with the sign manual of a justice not resident in her nor obvious to a lesser and less co-ordinate nature than his. In this δικαιοσύνη opposing motives hold each other in check ; it is built of counterthrusts seen and unseen ; it is calm because it contains much whereof every particle, let loose, might flash and destroy. It is unintelligible, sometimes even

to the judge, for previous judgments have entered into his nature and give a subconscious vote. And over all there is the flush of indignation, love, indulgence, which can be found only in the right nature and in the rich, the Apollonian *κάθαρσις*.

XXI

THE MASCULINE PATTERN

WE have between Pindar and Plato a transference of authority from the hero through the adjective which characterized him to the abstract of the adjective which expresses his quality : from Hippolytus, who was *σώφρων*, to *σωφροσύνη*, from Heracles, who was *ἀνδρείος*, to *ἀνδρεία*, from the *σοφοί* to *σοφία*, and then from all these qualities to an unity or *ἀρετή* of the *πόλις* or of the man which shall include them all, this latter process easier in the case of the *πόλις* than in the man, wherefore the ruler gives place to rule, *δίκη* triumphs over Zeus.

Lysander, who stands at the beginning of this development in philosophy, had recourse to it when he wished to alter the ancient constitution of Sparta. He proposed to establish as kings, not necessarily the *Εὐρυ-*

ποντίδαι and Ἀγιάδαι and perhaps not even Heraclids, but those who were like Heracles, ἵνα μὴ ᾗ τῶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ἀλλὰ τῶν οἷος Ἡρακλῆς τὸ γέρας (which they, like Neoptolemos, possessed by birth) ἀρετῇ κρινομένων ἢ κακείνων εἰς θεῶν τιμὰς ἀνήγαγεν.¹

The ἀρετή was to be crucial, and this test is philosophical ; it was to be the ἀρετή which made a man like Heracles, and this test is traditional. And so of all excellences. They were to be preserved and enforced under the general heading and title of an all-inclusive Ἀρετή. This was not manhood seen against a background of justice nor manhood formulating justice, but it was justice formulated by manhood. The δικαιοσύνη was not ἰσότης ; it accorded precedence to ancient values and submission to them where attainment was impossible. In this it was aristocratic. The formulae which sanctioned worth admitted superiorities and a man πολλῶν ἀντάξιον ἄλλων, and, so far as they did not derogate from ἀνδρεία in favour of σωφροσύνη and of the canonical imperative, were a confirmation of manhood. Only, a man was not to rule the

¹ Plutarch, *Lysander*, 24.

State ; the State itself figured as a great man which, drawing on all its citizens, could be perfect in all qualities and justify itself by the possession of all virtues. Now, in traditional virtue nobleness had always held its place ; the qualities of the *εὐκλής* must therefore pass into the ethical system, if that system was to receive general assent.

XXII

ART

THEY were accepted in art and by the patrons of art. Winckelmann's formula "Eine edle Einfalt und stille Grösse" is a chiastic statement wherein the idea of *stille* and *Einfalt* pertain to a general *δικαιοσύνη* which might be *ἰσότης*, but could be any accepted order that should ensure unity and place, whereas the *edle Grösse* admits the dignity of what is noble, so that the whole expresses a *δικαιοσύνη κατ' ἀξίαν τοῦ γενναίου*.

We thus reach a canonical interpretation of manhood, a common standard. The simplicity which we admire in the Greeks is due to its acceptance. Originality figures in their aims and judgments far less than in ours. They thought, built, and sculptured like mediaeval architects, surpassing

predecessors, but seldom by novelty. The right treatment, not a new treatment, was probably in their minds.

In this was a true theory of progress, a theory according to which you not only advance but carry with you your fardel, or of progress like the progress of a building rising on old foundations without change of place. A progress which should move and leave the past behind would prove that our ancestors had not participated in it. "Behold, I make a new heaven and a new earth": this resigns all past progress, all inheritance. The dead generations would have laboured in vain, and would have formed but an ephemeral scheme of life. The Greeks created quietly and collectively; and the Plato whom we love we often love for that in him which embodied his predecessors' thought anew.

But this collective unity and simplicity would not have been noble, if the noble had not been traditional,—if the inherited severities of *edle Grösse* had not left their mark on the *stille Einfalt*. The masculine, which to the Greeks represented the nobler and greater, was accepted. The notion of

“joy in widest commonalty spread”¹ so far as it existed among the Greeks, that is to say, in the *ἐλευθερία* of fellow-burghers, was tempered, not by a reserve which would have sophisticated their expression, but by their anterior idea of *ἐνέργεια* and of nature as never reaching its full effect in woman ; for that nature might wish indeed, but was not able. Disregard, then, of that justice which we conceive as equal for all was so much a part of their system in the old times, the times in which foundations were laid, that they were not aware of it. Only by an inclination of this rational or masculine balance in favour of numerical equality could Greece be undone.

If in Plato we love that which embodied his predecessors’ thought anew, the zeal and admiration for hardness which show in his gentle words, an asceticism borrowed from the training-ground, what we dislike in him is a Praxitelean, or ideal of softening of the strict fifth-century rule, a change of

¹ Wordsworth, “The Recluse.” A fragment containing the line and beginning

“On Man, on Nature and on Human Life”
is printed in Matthew Arnold’s *Wordsworth*.

τὸ καλόν from the noble to the fair, by which he tends to obliterate the manly in favour of the androgynous spiritual. We are glad when Lysippus again takes up the wondrous tale, though no longer with the Pindaric unopposed satisfaction, but hardened to meet his day ; we are refreshed when the pre-eminence passes from marble to the bronze which he used only to represent men¹ ; we understand why his figures wear a frown. The freedom of the Uranian city had been lost by the invasion of the feminine or epicene, and with him, as with Aristotle, dreams had to be recalled to fact. Here sculpture and manuscript unite to confirm the judgment of the people. In some way manliness had been lost in the ideal. The abstract had diluted the strength of Hellas. It rises at last under the Diadochi and their successors, men who ranked as

¹ Save in " The Drunken Flute-player " and the Praxilla ; see Kalkmann in the *Rheinisches Museum*, xlii. p. 489, who quotes Tatian's *Ad Graecos*, 31-41 :

Πράξιλλαν μὲν γὰρ Λύσιππος ἐχαλκούργησεν
μηδὲν εἰποῦσαν διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων χρήσιμον.

Cf. p. 504 of the same, note 5. " Nach Förster (*Rheinisches Museum*, xl. 637) ist die Praxilla identisch mit der *temulenta tibicina* des Lysipp (Plin., xxxiv. 63)."

gods during their lifetime, and who warred with one another as the gods in heaven. It rose, sensual and rebellious—rebellious in the giants, the heroes of the Pergamene frieze, sensual in the Barberini Faun, the Cyrenaic Apollo, the Toro Farnese, not less clearly also in the heavy folds of Hellenistic drapery.

This is heroism, not in collapse or shadow, but in darkness. There is thunder in the air. It is grand, it is lovable, but it wears the beauty of protest, not of attainment, not of noble righteousness, but of a nobleness that has found no scope in righteousness. Once the noble was merged in righteousness, it served under a civilized and unheroic standard. The first and Praxitelean reaction was a movement of relief from oppression, the second and Lysippan a tension of what had been relaxed. May we say that the last was a sense that, if civilization only was to be reached, the virile preferred revolt,—the noble reappeared, like the Pagan gods in the Middle Ages, unsubjugated, but gigantic only and not god-like?

XXIII

MAN AND ΔΙΚΗ

ALEXANDER stands at the beginning of this period ; and the old contest is renewed, Callisthenes, a kinsman of Aristotle, standing for the nomic and Anaxarchos for the personal supremacy. But whereas in Aeschylus there is balance and proportion between the hostile principles which enlist our sympathy for both, Anaxarchos is already beyond the bounds of any autocracy that we can love.

Alexander had slain Cleitos through an arras by which he attempted to protect himself in a drunken brawl. Alexander repented and would have slain himself, but was held and dragged to his chamber by friends.

¹ Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν νύκτα κακῶς κλαίων διήνεγκε καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἤδη τῷ βοᾷν καὶ θρηνεῖν

¹ Plutarch, *Alexander*, 52.

ἀπειρηκῶς ἀναυδος ἔκειτο, βαρεῖς ἀναφέρων στε-
ναγμούς, δείσαντες οἱ φίλοι τὴν ἀποσιώπησιν
εἰσῆλθον βία . . . Καλλισθένην τε τὸν φιλόσοφον
παρεισῆγαγον οἰκῆον ὄντα καὶ τὸν Ἀβδηρίτην
Ἀνάξαρχον. Ὡν Καλλισθένης μὲν ἠθικῶς ἐπειράτο
καὶ πρῶως ὑποδυόμενος τῷ λόγῳ καὶ περιϋὼν
ἀλύπως λαβέσθαι τοῦ πάθους, ὁ δὲ Ἀνάξαρχος
ἰδίαν τινὰ πορευόμενος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁδὸν ἐν φιλο-
σοφίᾳ καὶ δόξαν εἰληφὼς ὑπεροψίας καὶ ὀλιγωρίας
τῶν συνήθων (a philosophy of revolt) εὐθὺς
εἰσελθὼν ἀνεβόησεν. “Οὗτός ἐστιν Ἀλέξανδρος
εἰς ὃν ἡ οἰκουμένη νῦν ἀποβλέπει· ὁ δὲ ἔρριπται
κλαίων ὥσπερ ἀνδράποδον ἀνθρώπων νόμον καὶ
ψόγον δεδοικῶς, οἷς αὐτὸν προσηκει νόμον εἶναι
καὶ ὅρον τῶν δικαίων, ἐπεὶπερ ἄρχειν καὶ κρατεῖν
νενίκηκεν ἀλλὰ μὴ δουλεύειν ὑπὸ κενῆς δόξης
κεκρατημένον. Οὐκ οἶσθα,” εἶπεν, “ὅτι τὴν
Δίκην ἔχει πάρεδρον ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ τὴν θέμιν ἵνα
πᾶν τὸ πραχθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος θεμιτὸν ᾖ
καὶ δίκαιον;”¹ τοιούτοις τισὶ λόγοις χρησάμενος ὁ

¹ Cf. Plutarch, *Principem Ineruditum*, 781. Ἀνάξαρχος
μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῷ Κλείτου φόνῳ δεινοπαθοῦντα παρα-
μυθούμενος Ἀλέξανδρον ἔφη καὶ τῷ Διὶ τὴν Δίκην
εἶναι καὶ τὴν θέμιν παρέδρους, ἵνα πᾶν πραττόμενον
ὑπὸ βασιλέως θεμιτὸν δοκῇ καὶ δίκαιον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς οὐδ’
ὠφελίμως τὴν ἐφ’ οἷς ἤμαρτε μετάνοιαν αὐτοῦ τῷ πρὸς
τὰ ὅμοια θαρρεῖν ἰώμενος. εἰ δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα εἰκάζειν,
ὁ μὲν Ζεὺς οὐκ ἔχει τὴν Δίκην πάρεδρον ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς
Δίκη καὶ θέμις ἐστὶ καὶ νόμων ὁ πρεσβύτατος καὶ
τελειότατος (but if God is only righteousness he is no
Father). Plutarch goes on : οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ (not the oldest ;
perhaps the philosophers are meant) λέγουσι καὶ γράφουσι

Ἀνάξαρχος τὸ μὲν πάθος ἐκούφισε τοῦ βασιλέως, τὸ δὲ ἦθος εἰς πολλὰ χαινότερον καὶ παρανομώτερον ἐποίησεν, αὐτὸν δὲ δαιμονίως ἐνήρμοσε, καὶ τοῦ Καλλισθένους τὴν ὁμιλίαν, οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἐπίχαριν διὰ τὸ αὐστηρὸν οὔσαν, προσδιέβαλε.

Now, concerning murder and battle and στάσις and treachery, concerning assertions of self or of a city against other men and other cities, or within self or a city of one part of the self or city against another part of the same, we may note that, however unity was preached by philosophers or advocated by Hellenic leagues against Persia, the conduct of a Hellen was often due to dissidence in himself or from another, and that Hellenic commonwealths were dissident from each other and within themselves; the development of the Greeks was conditioned by diversities and contradictions. Lysander, the first to achieve deity while alive,¹ maintained oath-breaking,²

καὶ διδάσκουσιν ὥς ἄνευ Δίκης ἄρχειν μηδὲ τοῦ Διὸς καλῶς (this begs the question) δυναμένου. The thought is weak.

¹ Plutarch, *Lysander*, 18. πρώτῳ μὲν γὰρ, ὥς ἱστορεῖ Δοῦρις, Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνῳ βωμοὺς αἱ πόλεις ἀνέστησαν ὥς θεῶ καὶ θυσίας ἔθυσαν.

² *Ibid.* 8. ἐκέλευε γὰρ ὥς φασι, τοὺς μὲν παῖδας ἀστραγάλοις τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας ὀρκοῖς ἐξαπατᾶν.

which Pythagoras forbade ; that which was lawful in Thebes was ἐπονείδιστον¹ in Athens, a day's journey by coach. Communities represented hostile political principles. Battles and the sack of cities were not infrequent ; and the spoils of Greeks from Greeks were consecrated at Delphi. Plato might protest, and Euripides might appeal

Aelian, V.H., vii. 12 : Δεῖ τοὺς παῖδας τοῖς ἀστράγαλοις ἐξαπατᾶν τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας τοῖς ὅρκοις. οἱ μὲν Λυσάνδρου εἶναι λέγουσι τὸν λόγον οἱ δὲ Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακεδόνο.

The Golden Verses of Protagoras :

Ἀθανάτους μὲν πρῶτα θεοὺς νόμῳ ὥς διακεῖνται
τίμα καὶ σέβου "Ὅρκον" ἔπειτ' Ἡρώας ἀγαυοὺς
τούς τε καταχθονίους σέβει δαίμονας ἔννομα ῥέζων

Pindar writes, *Olymp.*, ii. 65 :

παρὰ μὲν τιμίῳ
θεῶν, οἵτινες ἔχαιρον εὐορκίαις,
ἄδακρυν νέμονται
αἰῶνα, τοὶ δ' ἀπροσόρατον ὀκχέοντι πόνον.

Yet this is no exceptional ode ; elsewhere (Fragment 213) he says :

πότερον δίκῃ τεῖχος ὕψιον
ἢ σκολιαῖς ἀπάταις ἀναβαίνει
ἐπιχθόνιον γένος ἀνδρῶν,
δίκῃ μοι νόος ἀτρέκειαν εἰπεῖν.

¹ Xenophon, *Sympos.*, 8 :

ἐκείνοις μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα νόμιμα ἡμῖν δὲ ἐπονείδιστα.

to the νόμοι κοινοὶ Ἑλλάδος,¹ but the wasted Athenians who sang his songs in Syracusan quarries were sold into slavery by the followers of Tyrtaeus, and Athenian generals went over to the Spartans and then to the great King. Hellas hardly existed as a bond ; the struggle was not for the good of Greece, but for the hegemony of Greece.

And in peace the alliance of equal freemen in that brotherhood of friends which, from the time of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, had been found a safeguard against tyranny, was the triumph of a class, aristocratic or imperfectly democratic, its participants being *Freiherrn* or gentlemen, many of them owners of slaves² and free from the exigencies of labour and of money-getting, many calling on the State—that is to say, on all who were

¹ Euripides, Dindorf, Fragment 221 :

τρεῖς εἰσὶν ἀρεταὶ τὰς χρεῶν σ' ἀσκεῖν, τέκνον,
θεοὺς τε τιμᾶν, τοὺς τε φύσαντας γονεῖς,
νόμους τε κοινούς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ταῦτα δρῶν
κάλλιστον ἔξεις στέφανον εὐκλείας αἰεί.

But Euripides means no more than the accepted rules of conduct ; he does not mean a bond between cities.

² Newman, in a note on Aristotle's *Politics*, viii. 6: " We are often told that a Greek democracy was virtually an aristocracy, inasmuch as most, if not all, of the citizens

taxed—for their support in the dicasteries, the seats of “justice,” holders of a franchise from which traffickers and metics were debarred, a marketful of men, ready to bear arms, listening to their elders, who had borne arms, ready to defend their *πάτριοι νόμοι*, that is to say their own privilege, planning also aggression against some neighbouring state (disliked as not being like-minded), that their constitution might be forced upon it, or, within their own state, forming a *στάσις* to alter its policy, or even its polity, and drive out their opponents, so few that each could hear the voice of one herald, so flexible that one man could hope to persuade and to lead all. This would be owners of one or more slaves, and there can be little doubt that in almost all democracies a majority of citizens were *ἄποροι*.”

Most would not then be at leisure ; but it is aristocratic to recognize poor men of good birth ; to them the *συσσίτια* would be given, and they would then have leisure at least for affairs of state, and they would know one another well. The *συσσίτια* are crucial.

Aristotle, *Politics*, 4 (7), 10, 1330, 3. *περὶ συσσιτίων τε συνδοκεῖ πᾶσι χρήσιμον εἶναι ταῖς εὖ κατεσκευασμέναις πόλεσιν ὑπάρχειν.*

Plato, *Laws*, 780 A. *φήσομεν δεῖν ἡμῖν τοὺς νυμφίους μηδὲν διαφερόντως μηδὲ ἥττον ἐν συσσιτίοις τὴν δίκαιαν ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ πρὸ τῶν γάμων χρόνου γενομένου.*

was not a condition of isonomy even in a little state, far less of equal rights accorded to all states ; the leader did not become a cipher in a system of κοινὸι νόμοι stretching from shore to shore of the mainland and to islands and dominions beyond the sea. Rather it was a basis for all diversities and competitions, for changes, revolutions, and catastrophes, types coming to the front whether in the name of oligarchy or of equality, of one city or of another, but never remaining at the front nor establishing a succession like the orderly progress of the arts. There was the antinomy of polynomy.

What wonder that, amid wrestlings and wranglings, the justice never reached was thought fairer than aught else and that Peace with her offspring Wealth appeared to be εὐδαιμονία, the best blessing? We yearn for that which we have not, forgetting that we should buy it at the price of what we have.

XXIV

EIRENE AND PLOUTOS

YET it was perhaps to war and wear,¹ to Eris and not to Eros, that the Greeks owed their succinct energy. Enterprise wrested them from rest.

To this independence all hero-worship, all contrarieties of principle and of ambition, all alliances of friends most adverse to tyranny, the existence of slavery, and the disenfranchisement of such workers as were not slaves, the subjection of women, the belief in a religious influence of gods who were like men, even the *δίκη* which consigned the Eumenides to the underworld, contributed. Equity never became equality because personal values were necessary, nought being strong enough to set aside

¹ Plutarch, *contra divitias*. Ἀρχεσίλαος τὴν πενίαν λυπρὰν μὲν ἔλεγεν εἶναι ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν Ἰθακὴν, ἀγαθὴν δὲ κουροτρόφον, ἐθίζουσαν συνεῖναι λιτότητι καὶ καρτερίᾳ, καὶ καθόλου γυμνάσιον ἀρετῆς ἐμπρακτον.

a precedence κατ' ἀξίαν which, whatever its failures, gave scope to the nobler—to the masculine.

Now, if order, peace and plenty be not the perfect soil in which man can grow to his height, if a δικαιοσύνη which would protect all men in comfort and quiet, taming their desires and reducing their ambitions to insignificant stature, would cast forth lions from the city, if Ares, though rightly hated by the gods, is yet a god, and combat of some kind, if only among captains of industry, necessary, not only against the forces of nature, but among the contestants for ἀθλα, that the best may reach a Pindaric εὐδαιμονία, never given in full to all, but singular to achievement, if our race, reaching its Eldorado, a *stille Einfalt*, would sink into a poverty and famine of *edle Grösse*, then this sacrifice of the general to the particular, of co-operation to competition, may be regarded as a sacrifice on the altar of manhood and as necessary to correct an equal and solvent justice; the harmony of philosophers would have been wisely broken by lawless nature, by those *Grundtriebe* which in every age and clime give the

lie to beliefs nominally and sincerely held. Were it not for this salutary escape into damnation, man could hardly live : he lives hardly in any case, since no creed does him justice ; and, if it did, justice may not be his deepest desire.

To the Greeks harmony might seem the only refuge, and peace and plenty the ultimate reward (this at least was the opinion of Trygaeos) ; but we, who know the mildness of order and its mildew, the softening and refining influence of women, their pathos and their bathos, the great renunciations and the insignificant accomplishments, acquiescence in limits and deliquescence of ambition, life without a philosophy, happiness without heroism, and government without respect of persons, we know Eirene and Ploutos for what they are, a woman and a child, and we remember that the son of Cephisodotos was Praxiteles, who plunged in feminism—and soul.¹

¹ Cf. the inscription on the pedestal of an Eros :

Πραξιτέλης ὃν ἔπασχε διηκρίβωσεν Ἔρωτα,
ἐξ ἰδίης ἔλκων ἀρχέτυπον κραδίας,
Φρόνη μισθὸν ἐμεῖο διδοὺς ἐμέ φίλτρα δὲ βάλλω
οὐκετ' ὀϊστευὼν ἀλλ' ἀτενίζόμενος.

Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, ii. 323.

XXV

THE HELLENIC EROS

REVERENCE for man is deficient, if it is but reverence for his offshoots—justice, philosophy, the arts, government. He loses, if the abstracts of the adjectives which qualify him become dominant over him, if the σοφός, the ἀνδρείος, the δίκαιος, and the σώφρων are swallowed up in σοφία, ἀνδρεία, δικαιοσύνη, and σωφροσύνη, if the imperfect must yield to a perfection which surpasses it by infinity. The Uranian Eros, which we affirm to have been the subconscious Greek motive, showed itself strong in this: that over what is least soft and pleasing it threw glory, resigning the sensuous or cloaking with a beauty not true to fact the virile in its highest development.

The paederastic Eros is the love of youth, the philosophic Eros the love of philosophy. The Uranian Eros is less sensual than the

first and less abstract than the second : it is the love of the very root and fibre of manhood, of that which appeals neither to human passion clasping the fairest of earth nor to a divine passion which would forsake earth and enter heaven, a love which, having no pabulum of permanent and perfected beauty, it is the triumph of the Greeks to have nurtured, a lost allegiance unknown to our day and never formulated by the Greeks because it lay unquestioned below their questionings. In sculpture it could take the developed form of man in its rarely pleasant manifestations and represent them as the rule ; in philosophy it could endow youth with a soul beyond the stars ; in government it found its likeness in Timoleon and Epaminondas, its failures in Nicias and Agesilaos, its fallen angels in Themistocles and Alcibiades, everywhere wavering between the canon and the man, and ready to praise and pardon because it must have its outlet and could find its ambition only in masculine excellence. This severe love was in the Greeks "the master light of all their seeing."¹

¹ Wordsworth, "Ode on Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood," ix.

The paederastic Eros lost itself in the Uranian Eros, of which it held its life and its licence to live, as the Uranian love lost itself in that which is more than love, the worship of Zeus.

THE END



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